

# The Classical Journal

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ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION  
OF THE PACIFIC STATES

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MAY, 1930

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the cooperation of the  
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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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## Editorial

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### ON THE GIVING OF GREEK PLAYS

Scarcely a month of the academic year passes in this country without the presentation somewhere of a Greek play, either in the original or in translation. With a few notable exceptions, however, these events do not recur in the same centers in successive years. The reason is obvious. Whatever the success attained (and it is often considerable), the efforts put forth are nearly always so exhausting that the same staff does not feel inclined to undergo them again the very next year.

In these circumstances I have long entertained the thought that possibly worth-while results might be obtainable at smaller cost of time and effort, small enough perhaps to be expended year after year. A brief reference in the Current Events department of the April JOURNAL shows that this experiment was recently tried at the University of Iowa, though the suggestion did not originate with me and I took no part in carrying it out.

The Euripides class, consisting of six students, presented the *Alcestis*, which they had just been translating, before the Classical Club and a few interested friends. The characters carried the Greek text in their hands and translated "extemporaneously," though of course each one had carefully considered what he was to say. They often introduced considerable poetical and emotional quality into their versions. They wore their customary American

costumes except for a few attributes to differentiate the rôles. The characters moved about the acting space as the requirements of the play suggested; but they made almost no attempt at histrionic action. The total result was far more pleasing than might be supposed. The effect seemed to be excellent both upon the cast and upon the audience.

I suppose that this sort of thing has been done before, but I do not remember that any publicity has been given to it. Of course it is nothing to advertise far and wide or to invite a large general audience to witness. Nevertheless, I consider the experiment a great success, and I hope that it can be made a fixture at the University of Iowa. I also recommend it to such as would like to do something of the kind but have always been deterred by the expense and difficulties involved in anything more pretentious.

R. C. F.

#### SIC TRANSIT PROFESSOR CARR

Members of the Association will receive with mingled emotions the announcement that Mr. Carr has accepted the invitation of Columbia University to succeed Gonzales Lodge at Teachers College. Of course we all rejoice in the recognition and advancement that have come to him. But when we think what the annual meetings of the Association will mean without him, we sadly shake our heads. He always seemed to know everyone — not only their names and where they taught, but also something about them. Then his infectious enthusiasm and unfailing good cheer were enough to make a success of any gathering. These words are being written in February, some six weeks before his successor will be chosen, but will not appear in print until ten days after that event. Whoever the new secretary may be, of course we all pledge him our loyal support. Yet he must be patient if occasionally he detects a far-away look upon our countenances and suspects that we are thinking of the good fortune that has befallen the Classical Association of the Atlantic States.

R. C. F.



## THE CONFLICT OF LANGUAGES IN THE ROMAN WORLD <sup>1</sup>

By R. J. BONNER  
University of Chicago

Latin was originally the language, or rather the dialect, spoken by the settlers on the Seven Hills on the Tiber. In a comparatively brief time it spread over the whole Italian peninsula. Its progress was due mainly to the military prowess of the Romans, who from their central position became the dominant power in Italy. The language followed the eagles.

The great linguistic divergencies in Italy offered serious obstacles to the progress of Latin. Apart from the more or less closely related local dialects of Latium, Latin encountered dialects, such as Oscan and Umbrian, so fundamentally different that the Romans regarded them as distinct languages. There were, besides, several sister Indo-European languages — Celtic, Greek, Venetian — and at least one totally unrelated language, Etruscan. Of these various dialects and languages the most vigorous were Etruscan, Oscan, and Greek.

No Etruscan literature has survived, though Varro speaks of an Etruscan writer of tragedies named Volunius. In 284 B.C. Etruria was finally crushed as a military power, though it was not until the dictatorship of Sulla that the process of Romanization really began to make progress. Sulla confiscated the estates of the Etruscan nobles and planted a number of military colonies in the country. The vigor of the language is shown by the fact that it continued to be spoken down to the second century A.D.

Oscan, a dialect related to Latin, was the language of the

<sup>1</sup> Read as the Presidential Address before the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at the University of Chicago March 28, 1929.

Samnites, the strongest military power that the Romans encountered. The process of Romanizing the Samnites began before their final defeat in 290 B.C. But it was not until the conclusion of the Social War (90-88 B.C.) that Latin became the official language. Oscan continued to be spoken as late as the first century A.D., as rude inscriptions on the walls of Pompeii show.

There is no evidence that Rome made any systematic effort to stamp out, or discourage the use of, the languages and dialects of the conquered peoples. Among the rude and uncultured Italians language was a less important factor in nationality than it is today. Rome wisely refrained from enhancing the importance of languages in the eyes of the people who spoke them, by trying to suppress them. Naturally Roman officials, both military and civil, used Latin in their dealings with subject peoples. But the Italian communities long continued to use their vernaculars in their local governments, as is shown by official inscriptions in the various dialects and languages. An incident related by Livy (XL, 42) shows that the Roman government attached little importance to the spread of Latin. In 180 B.C. the people of Cumae asked and received permission from the Roman senate to use Latin officially. Livy is silent as to the circumstances of this strange petition. But Cumae was a Greek colony which was conquered by the Samnites when they overran Campania. It is probable, therefore, that the request was the result of an irreconcilable conflict between Greek and Oscan. Latin, as the official local language, was a compromise.

Throughout its entire history the Roman army was an incomparable Latinizing agency. The troops recruited from among the Italians learned Latin of necessity. Trade, also, which was largely in the hands of the Romans, helped to spread a knowledge of Latin. These forces, combined with the absence of any strong motive on the part of the subject peoples for preserving their languages, slowly but inevitably eradicated them throughout the portion of Italy under the domination of Rome.

The Social War, which resulted in the extension of citizenship to all Italians, marks the disappearance of the rivals of Latin as

official languages for local purposes. Henceforth Latin was the sole official language for both national and local government. But the survival of a language as the popular, though unofficial, speech of a people may at any time become a political force, particularly in connection with a war of liberation. Thus indications are not wanting that the Oscan-speaking Italians engaged in the Social War intended, in case of success, to contest the supremacy of Latin. Oscan was still a current popular speech throughout large areas of Italy.

The achievement of Latin in thus spreading over Italy is the more remarkable in view of the fact that no literature worthy of the name had been developed when Rome became mistress of Italy down to the confines of Magna Graecia, where Latin first encountered its greatest rival, Greek.

In Greece there was no such linguistic diversity as in Italy. Although there were many dialects there was only one language. So similar were these dialects that they were, for the most part, mutually intelligible. The dialect of Athens furnished the basis of the *Koinḗ*, the standardized Greek that finally prevailed. The conquests of Alexander carried it far beyond the confines of Hellas. When the Romans came into conflict with the Hellenistic kingdoms of Alexander's successors, Greek was well established as the world language of the East.

Not only the language but the culture of Greece was spread throughout the nearer East. The progress of Hellenism was greatly encouraged and facilitated not only by the founding of great commercial centers but also by the establishment of splendid libraries such as those of Alexandria and Pergamum, where the masterpieces of Greek literature were edited and annotated and made available for the use of non-Greeks.

The Romans first came into contact with the Greeks in southern Italy. As early as the eighth century Greeks began to plant colonies in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, and Spain. But an alliance between the Carthaginians in north Africa and Sicily and the Etruscans in Italy prevented the wider spread of Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean. The grandiose scheme of Alci-

biades in 415 B.C. to conquer not only Sicily but Carthage is an echo of earlier Greek aspirations in the West. The final attempt to realize these ambitions was made by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who, emulating Alexander the Great, championed the Greeks against the Carthaginians and so came into conflict with the rising power of Rome in 281-272 B.C. Pyrrhus failed, and Rome completed the conquest of Italy by defeating the Greeks settled in the south. But though Magna Graecia was subdued in 272 B.C., Greek was not displaced for three centuries. The tenacity of the language is shown by the appearance of official inscriptions in Greek as late as the reign of the Emperor Vespasian (A.D. 69-79).

The Romans took up the quarrel of the Greeks with the Carthaginians and conquered Sicily. In 241 B.C. it became a Roman province, but Greek as a spoken language held out until the fall of the Western Empire in A.D. 476.

The planting of colonies, the conferring of citizenship on various communities, the use of Latin by Roman civil and military officials, and the expansion of trade seem to have been the only means employed to Latinize lower Italy and Sicily. The inhabitants of Greek towns continued to use Greek as the official language in their local governments. There is no evidence that Rome sought to suppress this official use of a foreign tongue. Cicero would not have ventured to use Greek in addressing the Syracusan assembly if the language had been proscribed. Such criticism as he was subjected to was private, not official. The superior resisting power of Greek as compared with the other languages and dialects of Italy was due primarily to the influence of Greek literature and culture.

The Second Punic War began with the intervention of Rome to save the Greek colony of Saguntum in Spain. Here again Rome found it convenient to champion the Greeks. In the course of the war Spain was conquered (in 197 B.C.), and its Romanization was rapid and complete. Strabo, writing in the Augustan age, says that in his day the native language in some parts of Spain was almost forgotten. The Latinity of the two Senecas,



of Lucan, and of Martial, born and educated in Spain, is beyond reproach.

Cisalpine Gaul was Romanized about 200 B.C., and the province of Gallia Narbonensis was established in 118. In Gaul Greek culture radiated from Massilia. The use of the Greek alphabet by the Helvetians, which Caesar mentioned, came from Massilia. A Celtic inscription in Greek characters has come to light in southern France. The Roman conquest of Gaul did not displace this culture. Greek physicians and rhetoricians continued to be publicly employed in the Gallic cantons. And the people of Massilia continued to speak Greek although they also spoke Latin and Celtic. In the first century A.D. Tacitus describes Massilia as *locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum*. So famous was it as a seat of learning that Lucius Antonius, banished to Massilia by Augustus, was able to disguise the real character of his sojourn by pretending that he had gone abroad to study (*specie studiorum nomen exilii tegere*). But in the end Latin won everywhere except in some remote districts between Gaul and Spain, where a form of the ancient language still survives. The Celtic of Brittany today is not an ancient survival, but a later importation from Britain after the Roman evacuation.

It has been customary to assume that the inhabitants of Britain were never assimilated and that Latin never became a popular or national language. On the departure of the Romans, it was maintained, Britain was as Celtic as ever. It was usual to compare the Roman occupation of Britain with the British occupation of India in this respect. The supporters of this view point to the absence of any trace of municipal honors and the various corporations that are elsewhere the unfailing marks of Romanization. Moreover, Britain had no part in Roman literature. This is significant in view of the prominence of other provincials in literature. One must leave to philological experts the question as to the exact amount of Latin taken over by the Saxons from the Britains. Even if the most extreme claims are allowed, the amount seems trivial and affords no evidence of the general Latinization of the population.

The literary evidence as to the prevalence of Latin in Britain is scanty and inconclusive. Agricola made special efforts to encourage the study of Latin in Britain but met with considerable opposition. Martial boasts that he was read in Britain, and Juvenal casually speaks of British lawyers taught by Latin-speaking Gallic schoolmasters.

In recent years new archaeological evidence has disturbed, if not overthrown, the accepted views. Haverfield, in his book on the *Romanization of Roman Britain*,<sup>2</sup> produced evidence that seems to show that, in the one urban center that has been thoroughly investigated, Latin was in habitual use among the lower classes. His conclusion (p. 27) regarding linguistic conditions is as follows: "Latin was employed freely in the towns of Britain, not only on serious occasions or by the upper classes, but by servants and work-people for the most accidental purposes. It was also used, at least by the upper classes, in the country." It may be noted that students of linguistics have in recent years expressed similar views.

Haverfield's views have been subjected to a good deal of criticism. If they are true, the difficulty of accounting for the practical disappearance of Latin is materially increased. Haverfield himself explains this by pointing out that the brunt of the Saxon attack fell on the Romanized portion of the island. The inhabitants were either slain or enslaved or driven off among the Celts, where they were submerged. Furthermore, there were no large urban centers of wealth and culture in Roman Britain, such as were developed in Gaul.

Africa became a province in 146 B.C. Latin, being confined to the larger centers, made slow progress. Punic was for a long time used officially in the towns. And Punic-speaking priests were required in the outlying villages as late as the fourth century A.D. It may be noted that Punic was the mother tongue of St. Augustine. Greek also offered considerable opposition to Latin in Africa. The overthrow of the Carthaginians resulted in an influx of Greeks from Cyrene, Spain, and Gaul. A large

<sup>2</sup> Oxford, Clarendon Press (second edition, 1912).

colony settled at Cirta. The court of King Juba, who composed in Greek his very considerable writings ranging from a history of Rome to a history of painting, was a Hellenizing center. But it did not last. Greek could not be thoroughly learned except by residence in Italy or Greece. Some of the earliest complaints regarding the difficulty of the language are found in St. Augustine. Under Justinian (A.D. 527-65), who reconquered Africa for the Eastern Empire, Greek enjoyed a brief revival, being put on a level with Latin as an official language.

On the whole, the West became thoroughly Latinized. In Spain Latin withstood the Germanic and the Moorish occupations. France Latinized its Germanic invaders so thoroughly that little but their name is left. And the Normans so saturated the language of Britain with Latin that a recent opponent of the study of Latin, in recommending the use of Anglo-Saxon in preference to Latin vocabulary, himself used eight Latin words to one Anglo-Saxon: "Avoid Latin. Use common, simple, plain, terse Anglo-Saxon."

Compared with the constant failure that attends modern efforts to repress the languages of conquered peoples, the success of the Romans is remarkable. The superior culture of Rome and the weight of her social and political organizations, combined with her splendid literature, insured the eventual prevalence of her speech among peoples unorganized and unlettered. Immigration played its part. Not that the Latins flocked to the conquered provinces as Italians and other Europeans have flocked to the Americas and Australasia. Immigration was confined largely to the well-to-do middle classes, who formed little Roman centers which became potent agents for the spread of the culture and speech of Rome, for Italian civilization is based on town life.

Reverting to the struggle with Greek, we find that the first phase of the conflict closed with a very definite loss for Greek. The West was won for Latin. The second phase of the conflict, contemporaneous in part with the first, began with Roman expansion eastward at the expense of the Hellenistic kingdoms of Alexander's successors. The reaction of Greek upon the Romans

was far-reaching. Rome itself became Hellenized. The conquering, organizing, practical Romans fell under the spell of Greek culture, owing to the enormous prestige it had gained by its expansion eastward to the confines of India. In possessing a complete and highly developed literature Greek had a decided advantage over Latin. This factor helped to counteract the advantage Latin possessed in being the language of the conquering people. Even in Rome Greek was read, written, and spoken by a constantly increasing number of persons from the time of Pyrrhus on. Philosophy had an unusual attraction for the Romans, who desired not merely intellectual diversion but some practical rule of life. Stoicism and Epicureanism had a great vogue among all classes, and Greek political theories played no small part in the revolutionary movements that began with the Gracchi, who themselves were pupils of Panaetius, the Stoic. While Rome was making herself mistress of Italy and striving to crush her great rival, Carthage, she displayed little interest in either the practice or the theory of rhetoric. But the political struggles of the late second and early first centuries created a widespread demand for training in parliamentary and forensic oratory. Greek rhetoric supplied this need.

As Rome interfered more and more in the East, the growing taste for the history of these new peoples could not be gratified without a knowledge of Greek. And generals and public men who wished their achievements recorded turned to Greek as the most effective medium, the language which, in the words of Cicero, was read *in omnibus fere gentibus*.

The Romans were not content merely to read Greek. They began early to use it for literary purposes. Fabius Pictor wrote annals of Rome in Greek in the middle of the third century B.C., and Livy quotes the Greek history of Glabrio, who was quaestor in 203 B.C., for events of the years 212 and 195. Lucullus wrote a history of the Marsic war in Greek. But their practice was not followed to any great extent. Latin proved in the end to be the best medium for historical writing.

It is difficult to say how generally Greek was spoken in Rome.



Greeks came to the capital and published in Greek works intended for Roman readers. But it would be a mistake to assume that any considerable number of Romans were familiar with Greek. Men constantly interlarded their conversation and their informal writings with scraps and tags of Greek. But Mommsen goes too far when he says that a play of Plautus could not be understood by an audience that did not have a considerable acquaintance with Greek. The evidence he adduces scarcely warrants this view. There were protests against the use of Greek. The Emperor Tiberius apologized to the Senate for using a Greek word, *monopolium*, and on another occasion he ordered a Greek word stricken from a decree.

Abundant opportunities were accorded the Romans of gaining a practical knowledge of Greek. As Rome extended her sway eastward, Greeks, always ready to push their fortunes abroad, came to Rome in increasingly large numbers — philosophers, rhetoricians, teachers, authors, merchants, physicians, artists, artisans, and slaves. Thus every rank of society came into more or less intimate relations with Greece. The higher classes regularly provided instruction for their children in Greek by native teachers. For those who wished to pursue the study of literature there were excellent facilities in Rome. Aemilius Paulus founded the first private library in Rome with the books of King Perseus in 167 B.C., and Sulla took to Rome the library of Apellicon of Teos, the Peripatetic philosopher, and Lucullus secured the books of the kings of Pontus. Although these were private collections, free access was allowed to the public. The first public library was furnished by Asinius Pollio in the Atrium Libertatis on the Aventine in the year 39 B.C. Augustus showed his interest in books by carrying out the plan of Julius Caesar to build up a large library of Greek and Latin books. Soon Rome rivaled Alexandria as a receptacle of the best Greek writings and as a seat of learning in which Greek authors found appreciation and patronage.

Cicero acquired an intimate acquaintance with the Greek language and literature in Rome. It was not until two years after

his entrance into the legal profession that he went abroad, primarily for his health. His son, however, was educated in Athens, as were large numbers of Romans of his generation. There is still extant a letter from Cicero junior (*Ad Famil.* xvi, 21) describing his studies in Athens both in Latin and in Greek. It is a bit stilted and sophomoric, but a studious or would-be studious undergraduate today might glean from it some useful hints for his home letters.

In ancient Hellas the Greeks were in a mass and nowhere in immediate contact with Latin or Latinized populations, as was the case with the isolated groups of Greeks in the West. In the East the Greeks had spread their culture over lands possessed of ancient civilizations, where the late-coming Romans could make but little headway against either Greek or the native languages. But in both the West and the East Latin was the official language. In their dealings with Greeks the Roman officials (as a rule) used Latin. And Greeks were obliged to employ an interpreter even when communicating with an official who was quite familiar with Greek. A late Greek writer mentions an ancient law requiring all official proceedings to be in Latin. If there was such a law, it was constantly broken in the spirit and occasionally in the letter. A few episodes gleaned from Plutarch and other writers will illustrate the Roman attitude in this matter better than any general statement of her linguistic policy in the Greek lands. Marcus Cato addressed the people of Athens in Latin, although he was able to speak Greek fluently; and an interpreter repeated his address in Greek. After the battle of Pydna the policy of the Roman senate toward Macedonia was proclaimed in Latin by Aemilius Paulus. But contrary to the usual practice, the interpreter on this occasion was a Roman official, Octavius the praetor. Whether the performance of the praetor was intended as an official compliment to the Greeks or as an exhibition of his learning, it is still a departure from the theoretical policy. The same Aemilius Paulus in the course of a private interview with the defeated Macedonian king conversed in Greek. But not even in their official capacity did the Romans always use Latin. P. Licinius Cras-

sus, when proconsul in Asia, gave his decisions in Greek, and Cicero criticized Antony for appointing judges who knew no Latin. In the reign of Claudius, Agrippa, King of the Jews, was allowed to address the Roman Senate in Greek. This was an unusual privilege, but it serves to show that the Romans did not always insist on the official use of Latin.

The Romans must soon have recognized the impossibility of inducing the masses of Greeks to become bilingual. As a practical people they met this situation by recognizing Greek as a second official language in the East. Not only were proclamations published orally in both languages, but Greek versions of official documents were made in Rome by a special corps of officials and sent to Roman representatives in the East to be published simultaneously with the Latin. These Greek versions were literal and wooden. A single example will suffice to show the kind of Greek that Roman clerks could write. The technical phrase *dare operam ut* becomes ἐργασίαν διδόναι ἵνα. Evidently official Rome would not concede too much. Their Greek had to have a strong Latin flavor. Among non-Hellenic peoples, also, the Romans made concessions and frequently published official communications in the vernacular. But it is significant that on these occasions the Greek version was also published. Thus the inscription on the cross, "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews," was written in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

It is a matter of surprise to find that in the case of Egypt the Romans made no attempt to employ Latin officially but retained Greek for a long period as the official language. Greek had never displaced the native Egyptian tongue as the language of the masses. Perhaps the Romans, faced by two well-established languages, Greek in the court and the urban centers and Egyptian in the villages and countryside, preferred to enlist the Greeks on their side by continuing the official use of their language. It was not until the reign of Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) that Latin became the official language in Egypt.

Elsewhere in the Hellenistic world upon the advent of the Romans Hellenism was on the decline. It was originally spread by

founding cities in the midst of foreign populations. These urban centers were isolated from the country people by languages and special privileges. Greek never became the language of the masses beyond the confines of ancient Hellas. As the eastern nationalities became stronger, the Hellenistic towns became more and more isolated. The Romans saved them from absorption by maintaining them everywhere as Greek cities. This is what Mahaffy aptly calls Roman Hellenism. The alliance of Romans and Greeks in opposition to oriental nationalities helps to explain not only the survival of Greek but also in some measure the failure of the Romans to make more progress in the Latinization of the East.

Although the East was never Latinized, there were certain channels through which the Latin language spread to a limited extent. The extension of Roman citizenship helped to increase the use of Latin. In superficial discussion of the subject the statement is sometimes made that a knowledge of Latin was a condition of admission to citizenship. This view is apparently based upon the action of the Emperor Claudius in depriving a Lycian ambassador of his citizenship on the ground that a Roman citizen should be able to speak Latin. But the incident is without significance. When citizenship was conferred on whole communities at once, there could be no systematic application of a linguistic test. Mommsen put the situation correctly when he remarked that a citizen could not avail himself fully of his rights without a knowledge of Latin. For example, the will of a Roman citizen must be written in Latin, and litigation involving citizens was settled by Roman law in Roman courts where Latin was the official language. And anyone who wished to enter the government service or the legal profession found Latin practically indispensable.

Merchants in large numbers settled in the East. In the massacre ordered by Mithridates the number of Romans that perished is variously estimated from 80,000 to 150,000. The majority of these were traders. Julius Caesar had large plans for the colonization of the East, but his successors never carried them out. The Social War (90-88 B.C.) had reduced the population of Italy so



much that there was for a long time no excess to be settled outside of Italy. Delos was the great free port of the eastern Mediterranean and had a large Roman population. But as a rule the colonists that were sent out finally became Hellenized or continued to exist apart down to the middle of the third century A.D., without linguistic influence on the surrounding population.

Religion, which in modern times is a mighty agent for keeping alive a threatened language or propagating a conquering language, had practically no influence in Latinizing the East, as is sometimes supposed. The Caesar cult was popular in the East, where indeed it originated. But the Latin ritual had no more effect in spreading a knowledge of Latin than the ritual of the Roman Catholic church has had in saving Latin in modern times. Until the third century A.D. Greek was the language of Christians in Rome. But it yielded to Latin when Christianity became the official religion.

It is futile to attempt to estimate the progress made by Latin as a spoken language in the eastern Roman empire. Plutarch claimed that in his day the whole world used Latin. All that he meant is that throughout the empire there were people who understood Latin. A similar claim might be made about French today in Europe.

In the new conquests made by the Romans outside of the Hellenistic kingdoms Greek made no progress. Thus Thrace would eventually have become Hellenized under the successors of Alexandria, but the Romans forced peace upon the warring tribes. Roman colonists came in and Latin overcame Greek. According to some scholars the language of the modern Roumanians came from these settlers. But be that as it may, when Trajan conquered Dacia, Romans and Romanized Thracians and Illyrians settled in the country; and today the Roumanians, speaking a Romance language, number over 8,000,000. Ovid died in banishment near Constantza, the Black Sea port of Roumania.

The transfer of the capital to Constantinople in A.D.330 resulted in a further extension of Latin in the East. It continued to be the official language of Nova Roma down to the reign of

Justinian, A.D. 527-565. But it was impossible to establish permanently a Latin city on the Bosphorus. There was no large movement of Latin-speaking immigrants. The trade connections of the city were with Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. From these populous countries came large numbers of Greeks and Hellenized natives to the capital. The army, however, drew its recruits from the Romanized Balkans and continued to use Latin long after Constantinople had become thoroughly Greek.

In A.D. 425 Theodosius required that the University of Constantinople should provide equal facilities for instruction in both languages. And Libanius (A.D. 314-395) laments that the study of Latin, shorthand, and law was usurping the place of oratory and Greek in Antioch. Obviously the conflict between useful and cultural studies is an ancient one. To us it seems a far cry to a time when Latin was classified with shorthand.

The conflict between Greek and Latin ended in a decisive victory for neither language. Latin absorbed the isolated Greek communities in the West. In the East outside of the Hellenized areas Latin prevailed in the new territories added to the empire. In non-Hellenic communities where the native languages never yielded wholly to Greek, as in Egypt, the Romans preferred to support Greek rather than the vernacular. But in general throughout the Hellenized East Greek held its own against Latin. The fate of Greek outside of the confines of ancient Hellas is interesting and instructive. It was submerged by later conquerors — Parthians, Arabs, and Turks. But today Greek is the *lingua franca* of the Eastern Mediterranean. Had the empire of Alexander survived to check Rome, Greek might have fared in the East as Latin has fared in the West in the guise of four Romance languages.

## SOME MEDIAEVAL CONCEPTIONS OF VERGIL AND THEIR ORIGINS <sup>1</sup>

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Every age and every people have found in Vergil a character that has appealed to their tastes and ideals. There are then many variants in the portrayals of him. He has been magician, philosopher, poet, prophet, teacher, and usually more than one at once, though it is obvious that Vergil would have disclaimed some of these reputations. We have numerous pictures in well-known works of the different mediaeval Vergils. Yet there have been few studies undertaken with the purpose of showing where and how these new Vergils originated, partly, I suppose, because it is a hard and perhaps an impossible task. In this prosaic attempt to find possible origins for some of these conceptions I hope to avoid making him a sun god or any other of the favorite creations of the anthropologist.

Some of the notions of Vergil which were held in the Middle Ages were far removed from the reality. Some of them are merely grotesque, some are exaggerations of real traits of character or similar modifications of real achievements, some of them are logical if not natural deductions from real attributes, some are inexplicable additions, but all share one quality: Vergil is invariably supremely successful. Let me at once recant to this extent: he is not at first invariably successful in his dealings with women, but the next person who tells the tale can be counted on to secure Vergil's final triumph.

My present problem is to trace to their ultimate origins and causes, where possible, some of these mediaeval Vergils. I may

<sup>1</sup> Condensed from a paper read before the Philological Society of the University of Pittsburgh December 7, 1929.

state briefly the materials at my disposal for consideration as possible origins. First, there is the autobiographical material in Vergil's works. Since most of this is contained in the minor works, it would seem that I was committed to the examination of the genuineness of each of these poems. Into this controversy, now raging violently, I decline to be drawn. My problem with them is rather to determine the opinion of the Middle Ages on the point. If we may trust the MSS, they were generally, if uncritically, accepted as genuine; and since we do not know when any particular conception of Vergil originated, we may accept with reservations all autobiographical details in the entire Vergilian Corpus. Second, we have the reactions of contemporaries. Third, we have the notices preserved in later writers (some of them, of course, quoted from contemporaries) and the personal opinions of later writers. This class includes the biographies, which differ greatly in value for some purposes, but for mine are equally good. Fourth, though this is subjective while the rest is objective evidence, we have inferences as to Vergil's character, ideas, ideals, and methods, based on his works.

I need not at this time trace the development of Vergil into the various aspects of him which were familiar to the Middle Ages, nor need I examine the processes by which he was transformed into these new shapes to such a degree that he absorbed into his own personality many other persons who resembled him. Instead I shall recount very briefly a single mediaeval legend of Vergil and attempt to find points of origin, or at least points of contact with the real Vergil.

I choose for this experiment the Dolopathos story. I derive it in part from the longer Latin version of Iohannes de Alta Silva (Hilka's edition in the *Sammlung Mittellateinischer Texte*), partly from the French of Herbers by way of Comparetti, to whom, as to Tunison and other workers, I am so greatly and so obviously indebted that specific references to them are unnecessary. I use these two versions at this time without distinction, though there are small differences.

The story is an expansion of the familiar narrative of the



Seven Wise Men, who here appear in rôles subordinated to that of Vergil. Their usual character is maintained, and the First Wise Man uses language reminiscent of that of Chaucer's Clerk of Oxford: *Quod nescio disco et doceo quod didici*. The story is briefly this: Dolopathos is king of Sicily, which he holds under Augustus. He sends his son Lucinian to Rome to be educated by Vergil, who imparts to the precocious boy all his vast learning and even trusts him occasionally with his precious pocket-size compendium of all knowledge. Lucinian dreams that his mother is dead and his father remarried, and soon after is summoned home. Vergil learns through astrology that Lucinian is threatened with grave danger and warns him not to speak until he is given permission to do so by Vergil. Dolopathos, finding that his son has become dumb, is startled and grieved, but his wife volunteers to effect a cure. Lucinian repels her amorous advances and in return is accused, like Hippolytus, of having offered the queen violence. He is condemned to be burned alive. When he is tied to the stake, the Wise Men appear one after the other and distract the attention of the king from the business in hand with marvelous tales which show how dangerous it is to believe anything a woman says. At last Vergil arrives, tells the whole story, and secures the release of Lucinian and the punishment of the queen. Dolopathos dies and is buried in Palermo, his capital. Vergil dies and is buried in Mantua, his home. In his hands are clasped, too tightly to be removed, his two books *De Artibus*, which deal, as the context shows, with matters which ordinary people are not allowed to know. The coming of Christ is followed by the conversion of Lucinian and most of his people. Among the philosophers' testimonies to Christ is quoted the fourth *Eclogue*.

Let us look more closely at Vergil. I shall quote details and follow each with suggestions of possible origins. Vergil was the most celebrated poet at Rome: this was common knowledge. He was born at Mantua in Sicily: the author knows the epitaph or the biographies, but misplaces Mantua on the map. He has been repeatedly honored by Augustus: a famous anecdote related the

story of the reward paid him for the lines on Marcellus (*Aen.* VI, 860-83); another told of the discomfiture of his rivals and the triumph of Vergil with the *Sic vos non vobis* verses; a third dealt with the happy consequences that attended the increased bread rations with which Augustus repaid Vergil's skill as a veterinarian. Since all these are found in the widely read expanded biography attributed to Donatus (*passim*), one may even think that the term "repeatedly" is explained. Perhaps, however, we should recognize a less specific source, in the readiness of the Middle Ages to believe that services like Vergil's could not long go unrewarded. Vergil is also the chief of philosophers: this may be based directly on *Aeneid* VI, or less directly on Vergil's reputation for wisdom expressed in veiled language, as in the *Eclogues*. He is a philosopher by explicit statement in the Berne *Vita* and in that attributed to Probus, and his aspirations in that direction were well known. He is likewise a famous teacher, and here we begin to leave behind concrete sources.

When Lucinian arrives he is received most politely. Vergil is seated in his chair of state, dressed in a rich fur-trimmed mantle with hood thrown back and with a cap of fur. This is of course pure fiction. All we know of Vergil's actual appearance is that he was, according to the biographies generally, *facie rusticana*, though the pseudo-Acronian scholia suggest that the rumpled toga and the untied shoestrings referred to by Horace (*Serm.* I, 3, 31) belonged to Vergil. But the most amusing part of the story is this: Lucinian was tall, Vergil short, and Lucinian's humility was such that, when they were together, he always stood and walked stooped over, lest he seem to overtop his master! The ancient biographies agree that Vergil was tall and gaunt.

When Vergil arrives to free Lucinian, he tells Dolopathos of a philosopher who asked and rejected Vergil's advice about marrying. Vergil explained to him that marriage always interferes with philosophizing (as Socrates, whom he does not mention, had found) and appealed to Theophrastus for confirmation. Vergil's tirade against the wicked queen is addressed partly to her, partly to all women: *O furor, o scelus, o nequicia, o malicia*

*mulieris, o vere monstrum, mulier, monstruosius cunctis monstis, quis tantum scelus vidit, quis audivit, quis huic simile cognovit nec cogitavit!* (p. 87, Hilka). Deianira and Clytemnestra are pure in comparison with this woman, and the poet is ready to believe what he has heard, *mulierem scilicet una arte vicisse diabolum* (p. 88). His peroration is *Per mulierem denique totus perditus est mundus. Grande malum mulier* (p. 88). This is, of course — and I have not quoted all the reminiscences of Scriptural phraseology in his speech — the normal monastic attitude. I do not need to prove their belief that celibacy was almost a prerequisite for salvation.

It may be pointed out, however, that Vergil never married, though there is a little evidence, not too trustworthy, for an intrigue with a married woman in the Catullan manner (*Catalep.* 1; so DeWitt, but not most commentators). His heroes are not married in any romantic sense. Creusa is early and quite coolly lost in the flight from Troy; Dido is abandoned; and the state marriage with Lavinia is postponed until after the close of the *Aeneid*. It must be admitted that Vergil's portraits of women are sympathetic and understanding. The barmaid of the *Copa*, Andromache, Dido, Camilla are all drawn with insight, but so are his characters generally. Yet there was some specific basis for attributing to Vergil such an attitude toward the sex as he displays in this story. Some critics think of the *Aeneid* as the story of the wiles of Venus and Juno. We must not forget that the author of the Dolopathos knows and quotes the famous *varium et mutabile semper femina* (*Aen.* iv, 469 f), though this is balanced by the equally well-known *dux femina facti* (*Aen.* i, 364), which he does not quote. While we should not attribute to Vergil a conscious misogyny, we may at least say that in his avoidance of matrimonial complications — the more noticeable in the face of Augustus' campaign for more and more-productive marriages — and in such remarks as I have quoted, a monk looking for ammunition to use in the war of the sexes could find it. Perhaps Vergil's aversion to marriage was partly due to his shyness, a quality of which all his biographers speak. The nickname of Parthenias was

given him by the Neapolitans in tribute to the purity of his soul. I wonder whether there is any connection between this and the remarks of St. Jerome: "The reward of virginity is the power of prophecy" and "... virginity alone knows the counsel of God."

One more point should be noted. At the parting of Vergil and Lucinian we find these words: . . . *Virgilius dimidium anime sue commendat legatis revertiturque ad urbem dimidiatus, cum partem anime sue Lucinium derelinquit* (p. 23). This is an obvious elaboration of Horace's phrase of Vergil *animae dimidium meae* (*Odes* I, 3, 8).

There is no hint in this story, except for the books *De Artibus*, that Vergil is a magician, though he is an astrologer and the books referred to may as well be astrological as magical. Otherwise the Dolopathos story includes all the important mediaeval aspects of Vergil's character. It is almost safe to say that the author knew, at least in part, the poems of Vergil and was able to quote them effectively, if only occasionally, and that he was acquainted with the larger Donatus biography, if not with others. This one is practically sufficient as a source. It even contains the germs of the magician tradition, since it makes much of the word *virga*, which played its part in the transformation of *Virgilius* into "Virgil," refers to his mother *Magia* (though it spells her name *Maia*), and recounts the marvels which attended the poet's birth. When one adds the knowledge of incantations which Vergil himself displays, e.g. in the devices employed by Dido to bring Aeneas to her arms again (*Aen.* iv, 478-521), in the suggestions of ancient rituals which had once been magical in character, and in the supernatural character of his visualizations in the fourth *Eclogue*, we have all the specific sources necessary to convert the poet into a magician. When this sphere of knowledge had been once assigned to him, such stories of his achievements as those of the *Salvatio Romae*, the butcher's block at Naples, the *Bocca della Verità*, and others of the type, were inevitable developments.

This paper has dealt with a limited amount of material and has mentioned only the most striking coincidences, if they are

nothing more than that. It is a reconnaissance into almost unexplored territory, to determine whether organized expeditions into it would be worth their cost. I have, I hope, shown that occasionally actual and concrete origins can be found for details in the mediaeval legends and that a more thorough search would disclose many more. It should be noted that most of these origins are outside Vergil's own works. Incidentally, such a study might throw some light on the confused problem of the origins and relations of the various biographies of the poet. Though I have treated them here as independent and equally valuable, I do not of course actually assume this to be true.

Real understanding of Vergil — and he was better known than any other Latin author — was too rare. Vergil's reputation had grown like a snowball. Supreme first in the field of grammar, he had become supreme everywhere. As the range of actual knowledge grew smaller and the unexplored areas on the edges larger, these latter were included in Vergil's kingdom. There was much in Vergil that the Middle Ages could not understand; concrete examples are furnished by some of their ridiculous allegorical interpretations and their absurd etymologies. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico* was true then as always. It was inevitable that Vergil should transcend the limits set for ordinary minds.

Every age has found in Vergil something which met its own needs and satisfied its own cravings. There is no better proof of his universality. For example, the Middle Ages adapted what they knew of him to their notions of the proper attitude toward women. But this was a mixture of incommiscibles — asceticism and chivalry. We never, so far as I know, find in Vergil the very perfect gentle knight, though gentleness was in reality one of his most pronounced characteristics. He is no Lancelot nor Galahad. It is the other part of the compound that we find in Vergil, and his own life and works seemed to testify to his preference for celibacy. The Vergil of the Dolopathos is an abbot and not a courtier.

Specific origins for mediaeval Vergils may then sometimes be found. But perhaps even more are they products of the mediaeval



mind. Philology, the only resource of the Middle Ages, failed to develop a critical temper and habit. The familiar term "Dark Ages" is of course misleading, as the revival of interest in mediaeval Latin has once more demonstrated. But their intellectual activity was undisciplined. The decline of philological studies at the end of the Empire was inevitable but it was nevertheless a tragedy. Their continuance would have subjected me to the minor annoyance of not being able to write this paper, but it would have meant centuries of progress to the world. When philology became mere formalized repetition, intellectual discipline ceased. These mediaeval Vergils are partly due to the lack of a philologically disciplined and critical intelligence. Even the concrete sources that exist were interpreted by the mediaeval mind, so that we have about a small nucleus of verifiable fact a mass of reactions and interpretations. The prosecution of this search for origins would be worth while, if for no other reason, for the light it throws on mediaeval habits of thinking and the dangers that confront us when we are not armed and armored with philology.

## THE CREED OF A CLASSICIST<sup>1</sup>

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In certain quarters today creeds are definitely unpopular. There seem to be abroad among many people a haziness of thought and a great lack of clarity of conviction. The views of many seem to be of that primeval character that is without form, and void; and darkness is upon the face of the deep (or of the shallows, as the case may be!). Either from lack of conviction or from the lack of hard, consistent thinking there has resulted an unwillingness to be dogmatic, or to set down any convictions in black and white, so that they can be viewed objectively and concretely.

Of course it may be said that this attitude is based more or less on sound common sense, for, as its proponents would say: "In a world where so many new avenues of thought and feeling are constantly being opened up and where things are in a continual state of flux and flow, how can we be sure of any opinion long enough to submit it to the hard, crystallized form of definite statement and not be afraid that, before the ink is dry on the paper, we shall be forced to change our attitude or perhaps wholly retract our statement of position?"

In spite of the good classical ancestry of such doubters among those philosophers who refused to affirm anything and insisted on keeping everything in a state of suspense, I personally want to align myself with the company of those who subscribe in certain realms of life to an established, definite position. Personally I have never felt fettered by a creed, either in religion, art, or the pursuit of the humanities; and far from being burdened by such

<sup>1</sup> Address of the president of the Ohio Classical Conference, delivered at Dayton, O., Nov. 16, 1928, during the seventh annual meeting of the Conference.

a statement, I have welcomed it as something that gave clarity and precision to my thinking and consistency to my beliefs.

It would be manifestly impossible for anyone here to frame a classical creed that would satisfy so representative a gathering coming from all parts of the state. I feel that without doubt some would lay the main emphasis upon one phase of our great and complicated task, while others among us would be impressed by the paramount importance of another. I cannot therefore pretend to speak adequately for everyone here; but at any rate I hope that I can frame a creed that will at least in some particulars appeal to all of us, for we all have this basis to use as a point of departure, that we are united by a great and powerful bond of union, the love of the beautiful and an ardent desire to diffuse the appreciation of classical life and culture among all those with whom we come in contact. And so, with the venturesomeness of a Ulysses, I shall throw discretion to the winds and proceed boldly to the formulation of my classical creed. And my first article is: *I believe in the classics as an invaluable contribution to exactness in every realm of life.*

The area covered by classical philology is almost boundless, if we accept the old dictum of Professor Whitney: "Philology deals with language, and with all that language reveals in regard to the life, history, and character of man." The fields of study and research opened up by such a definition are practically endless, but in spite of the comprehensive nature of the study I think it is safe to say that one extremely important branch of classical philology will always be the science of language itself. For, after all, a word is not the dry, hard, lifeless thing that it is sometimes reputed to be. Words are living, vibrant, with the experiences of the race packed into them. They may even be called sacred in a certain sense because they are the best means, however imperfect, of expressing personality, that finest flower of human life. In no other way can personality be so perfectly transmitted between contemporaries or between those of different ages as by the medium of the spoken or written word. Therefore, for exactness of thought, for

perfection of thought, for the comprehension of the subtleties of thought, a real knowledge of words, their meanings, and their history, is absolutely necessary. It follows that, since so large a proportion of our English vocabulary is based upon the classical languages, a thorough grounding in those languages is essential for the man or woman who desires to make of words a sharp-cutting instrument, not a blunt and unsatisfactory tool. Furthermore, to have an adequate vocabulary is almost necessary to retaining one's linguistic self-respect. Pass a ditch where a gang of workmen are digging a sewer. If you stop and listen to the conversation that is going on and analyze the language that you hear, one impression more than any other is produced on the mind of the listener. The range of vocabulary is strictly limited, and a large proportion of the words employed belong to the category of meaningless profanity, where ignorance of the necessary adjectives results in the use of expressions that long since have lost for the speaker their real meaning and are employed as stop-gaps of speech, about as valuable as the old hard and soft stop-signs of the Russian alphabet.

For those whom I teach and for myself I turn away from such cheap and tawdry expedients and apply myself to the Greek and Latin roots to express the exact shading of thought that I need. The approximation of thought will not do; I want to express myself as well as my native tongue permits; and it is in many of the words of Greek and Latin derivation that I find what I most need.

It is not without reason that the language of science, with all its exactness, rests upon the ancient tongues of Greece and Rome; and this terminology of science shows no signs of alteration in this regard. A psychologist once came to me and asked that I coin for him two scientific words for which he found no terms in current psychological language. He outlined exactly the definite concept he desired to express; I investigated the matter, coined the words; and the psychologist went on his way rejoicing. The injudicious may call Greek and Latin dead, but in modern

scientific terminology these two irrepressible languages are constantly experiencing a joyous resurrection.

Aside from the purely scientific terms there is a vast treasury of good English which is strictly barred except to the initiated. It is surprising to note in one's teaching the unfamiliarity on the part of the majority of one's students with many of the choicest and most useful words in the English language, and it is always a satisfaction to see their vocabulary grow as they begin to enter upon their linguistic inheritance. To secure scientific precision, correct transference of thought, and richness of color in diction I believe that there is no method that has proved so successful as a thorough study of the classics.

The second article of my creed is as follows: *I believe in the classics as an important aid to the appreciation of beauty.*

The ancients in the greatest periods of their literary and artistic productivity spent little time on the analysis of beauty. It was only in a period when the sources of original creative ability had run dry that many of them devoted themselves to analysis and criticism, as they did, e.g., during the period of the great scholars of Alexandria. Yet, though they only occasionally talked about the conscious search for the beautiful, they frequently accomplished that far greater thing — they *achieved* the beautiful. As a general thing, they did not travel far afield to behold the beauty spots of antiquity; but they succeeded in doing the far greater thing of leaving behind them works of art so perfect that subsequent generations have made pilgrimages to them as to a shrine.

The field of classic beauty is so vast that we can linger only on a few points which will illustrate in different ways the thought I have in mind. For example, the ancients possessed a marvelous felicity of phrasing. It requires almost a stroke of genius to phrase a thought, especially one that has a general application to life, in such a way as to give it immortality. Some of these epigrammatic utterances may seem trite to modern ears, but we should put ourselves back in the ancient world to the time when a given thought had not as yet received its perfect expression, and when



suddenly, in a moment, the happy inspiration came and the thought was enshrined for all the ages.

To us as students of the classics come haunting sounds and melodies out of the past, when on a summer day we lie on the white sandy beach looking out over the blue sea flecked with white sails, while the sound of the sea rings in our ears and the words πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης naturally rise in the chambers of the mind. Or as we read of some new marvel in the scientific world, of some point where the ingenuity of man has succeeded in wresting age-old secrets from nature by the power of thought, the words

πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ, κούδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει

come to us with an application far wider than any dreamed of by the mind of Sophocles. Or on a spring day, when all nature around us is thrilling with the newness of life, the *nunc formosissimus annus* comes quickly to the mind, and the phrase that was once applied to an ancient springtime scene satisfactorily depicts a modern landscape. At other times and in other settings the *sunt lacrimae rerum* and the *amore ulterioris ripae* of the same poet awaken feelings and emotions that call forth the deepest and the tenderest side of human nature.

Nor is this appreciation of beauty created by the spoken or written word alone. The ancient world has left creations of perfect art in carved stone and in architectural symmetry. Go to the more unfrequented parts of Italy, tarry a few hours at Paestum, and there, with the mountains as a frame on one side, while the sea terminates the vista on the other, look upon those majestic temples, the work of craftsmen who knew how to translate stone into beauty. Thanks to sources of inspiration like this many buildings of the classic type are today being created by our finest architects; and the atrocities of the 70's and 80's of the last century, which like the trail of some hideous monster stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are being replaced by buildings of whose design and proportions we have no cause to be ashamed. Or leaving architecture, go to Olympia and, even amid the squalor of the modern hamlet and the desolate ruins of its former grandeur, see the

Hermes of Praxiteles, where in that marble of exquisite tone one views the apotheosis of the human form. Or yet again journey to Athens, visit the National Museum, study the wonderful collection of *stelae* there displayed, and learn the lesson that even the saddest experiences of human life can be transmuted into beauty.

There are many other phases of this particular division of my subject that merit more extended treatment, but I must proceed to the next article of my statement of belief: *I believe in the classics as a wonderful means of adding joy to life.*

At this point there will be a chorus of violent dissent raised by those of our pupils who have as yet made only slight progress towards the goal along the road *per aspera ad astra*. "What!" cries one; "aren't there five declensions in Latin? Aren't there four conjugations?" True, my brother. "Aren't there lots of irregular verbs?" exclaims another luckless wight. "Yes," we reply, "but so has every language." "Aren't there lots of rules," moans a third, "and isn't it true that most verbs signifying to favor, help, please, trust, and their contraries, also to believe, persuade, command, obey, serve, resist, envy, threaten, pardon, spare, and the like, govern the dative?" Lovers of Latin plead guilty to the whole indictment and point out in reply that this is merely the preliminary stage of the process, and that after the rudiments of the language have once been acquired power and mastery come, and that though sorrow may endure for a night joy cometh with the morning.

It always makes me feel happy when I meet someone who revels and glories in the classics and in the treasures that they contain. That feeling of pleasure is always the more keen when I find the love of the classics in one who is not connected in a professional way with classical study. One of my first students was the son of a great New York surgeon. When this distinguished physician was starting out on a trip and wanted a means of relaxation, he would slip into his pocket a copy of Horace and in the well-known lines would find rest and refreshment. As he read he

was transported miles away and taken back in imagination to the days when he first read the poems as an undergraduate at Yale.

A most striking instance in my own experience of the joy and satisfaction that come from this classical turn of mind has been furnished me by my friendship with the son of one of those families that have made a distinguished contribution not only to the life of New England but to the country at large. The father of the family was one of the best-loved governors that the state of Massachusetts ever had, a man who later had a distinguished career as a cabinet member at Washington; the son is an attorney in the city of Boston. When wearied by the affairs of state, the father found happiness in making a translation of the *Aeneid*, excellent for its diction and its fidelity to the Latin original. On another occasion he made a graceful translation of the familiar last ode of the first book of Horace. Through a long and brilliantly successful public life the classics were a perennial source of joy to him although never a subject of professional interest. Today his son, though engaged in the practice of the law, finds his chief relaxation in the classics. Possessing a brilliant wit, a subtle mind, and an appreciation of the beautiful, his correspondence is a work of art, redolent of the classical spirit in its most piquant form. Only recently there came from his pen a version of the *Persians* of Aeschylus, done in the modern idiom, which was performed with great success. A more recent work, *What Happened at Clytemnestra's*, not as yet published, I had the good fortune not long ago to hear read from the manuscript. This attains to such a degree of cleverness and subtlety that at least in my opinion it completely throws into the shade a book of the type of Erskine's *Private Life of Helen of Troy*. To my mind, a man of this type is an admirable example of the joy that the classics can impart to life, and in himself constitutes a living proof that the race of men whose speech is savored with Attic salt has not as yet perished from the earth.

Another type of joy afforded by the classics is the liberation

from the present and its burdens. Without the benefit of a long perspective, man is the slave of the present. Many, even at the present time, seem to think that it is superfluous to know about anything that happened more than fifty years ago. Doubtless we are the people, and wisdom will die with us. It is from this narrow and parochial attitude towards life that the classics set us free. During the great war what a relief it was to drop for a moment the grim realities of the present and read of the trials and tribulations that had racked men's souls in the past but which now were forever ended, remaining only in the historical documents that had recorded them. It was a tonic to the weary spirit to see that anguish could not endure forever and that, in the words of Lincoln, "This too shall pass."

The same liberation from the shackles of the present has been afforded to men of past ages by the works of the classical authors and can be supplied to us. All through ancient literature runs the yearning of the great among them to enjoy the comradeship of those who are gone: Socrates wants to meet and argue with the dead philosophers, Cicero represents Cato as desirous of enjoying practically the same privilege. Thanks to the writings of the ancients this is exactly the privilege that we can enjoy, and by the medium of classical knowledge we can thus enlarge our personalities, free ourselves from the bonds of time and space, and be united with the greatest minds of all time in the study of the great fundamental problems that never change from age to age.

If all this be true, and I assume that it is, for such is my creed, we have now arrived at the summation of the whole matter and the final article of my statement of belief. *I believe in the classics as an important aid in the building of a finer civilization.*

The thing we most need among us to-day is the infusion of a little apostolic zeal. We should not be satisfied with things as they are but carry the war into Africa and celebrate a few victories *in partibus infidelium*. This cannot be done if any of us take a half-hearted attitude in the matter. We need a zeal akin to religious enthusiasm. While planning the program for this Conference I

received a letter from a certain Ohio teacher, in which she spoke of a colleague in the following striking terms: "She says she teaches Latin as unto the Lord." Would that there were more like her! All too often the opportunities slip through our hands. It is June, the teacher is tired, Commencement activities are piling up, and the grasshopper is a burden. And yet a definite word just at this critical time needs to be said, and said with authority. Here are students, some of exceptional mental power, many of whom in the fall will be entering our colleges. They have had four years of Latin, the drudgery of learning the principles of a new language is well-nigh over, innumerable delightful excursions into all fields of literature are just ahead; but because of the lack of suggestion or of positive encouragement, those paths will never be trod by many who should tread them.

Never have the colleges been better equipped from a classical standpoint, never were the members of the faculties more eager to give information, help, and assistance to all who seek them out; but we cannot be of assistance to those of whose existence we have never heard, nor can we teach those who, because of the lack of proper encouragement from their high-school teacher, never enter our classrooms. As in the parable of Holy Writ, so the master of the house is still issuing the invitation to the feast that is spread within; and in this case, not an order, but a most serious and heart-felt request is going forth from the banqueting hall: "Go out into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."

Positions of prominence in the classical world are waiting for those properly trained in secondary schools, colleges, and universities; but the man or woman who in later years will make the capable classical teacher must receive the requisite training, or it will be another case of a lost leader. A few years ago a fine young fellow graduated from one of the best high schools in Ohio. He had had four years of Latin. He entered one of our colleges, never took another day of Latin, majored in a subject which to most of us would not seem of nearly as great value as Latin, and made



Phi Beta Kappa on first election. That is just what I mean. That man, with his training, background, and ability, should have been headed toward Latin and Greek when he came to college, for all over the country today there are positions waiting for men of that type. If a concerted effort were made by the high-school teachers, I have no doubt but that the present enrollment in Latin and Greek in the colleges and universities could easily be doubled.

And finally, for this address has become about as lengthy as the discourse of an old Scotch preacher with its innumerable heads and points, if we see our duty, let us lay aside every weight and the carelessness that doth so easily beset us and let us go up and possess the land. Personally, I am glad that as I go I have this creed. It makes me happy in my task and confident that I am doing a worthy piece of work in the world. For, after all, in the last analysis we are dealing with human life, and our profession has to do with personality. I am glad that I belong to such a profession. The manufacturer satisfies a real need and performs an honorable function in life; but, after all, he is dealing with the γιγνόμενα and ἀπολλύμενα, the things that in this world come into being, serve their day, are cast aside, and are no more. We are dealing with the one permanent thing in the world — personality; and it is our mission so to train those entrusted to us that we shall really be dealing in *litterae humaniores*, those letters which give our race a well-trained mind, an historical perspective, a love of beauty, and a joy in life, and result at last in a higher type of civilization. That education is a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί — an everlasting possession.

## DID SENECA PRACTISE THE ETHICS OF HIS *EPISTLES*?

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In considering the practical value of any system of philosophy we focus our attention primarily upon the lives of its advocates, looking to the actual application of the exalted conceptions of the mind for proof of their efficacy and weighing the relative success that has attended efforts to adjust such concepts to the problems of everyday life. If we find evidence of the growth of traits that we respect and admire, we call those concepts good; but if the moral attitude developed by adherence to those concepts is repugnant to us, we feel a corresponding distrust. We should not, however, be so unguarded as to suspect these concepts because of the failure of advocates to adhere to them. Their failure is not of itself a reflection on the system. The strength of Christianity is due in no small degree to the example of Christ, encouraging us toward the realization of an impossibly perfect conception. Lacking that example, the concepts of Christianity would be none the less sound; but the confidence of believers and the credulity of observers would be severely strained by the derelictions of would-be Christians.

Although the value of Stoicism as a philosophy is not the primary concern of this paper, we should nevertheless observe that, if what has just been said is accepted as true, any notable dissonance between Seneca's ethics in his *Epistles* and his actual practice ought not to form the basis of distrust in the former, while, if he consistently and successfully practises the doctrines he advocates and thereby reveals traits repugnant to us, we may well extend our distaste to the system itself. The collapse of a

system in practice is a more serious indictment than failure to put it into practice; but the reflection in that case is not upon the sincerity and virtue of the man himself but upon his acceptance of the principles that directed his actions. His error is mental rather than moral, and so with Seneca we should be careful to distinguish between faults for which Stoicism itself is responsible and those which may be attributed to moral weakness or instability.

Enough has been written about Stoicism as a philosophy to indicate its strong and weak points, and much has been written about the life of Seneca; but little has been done to establish their relationship to each other. There is a conventional opinion that Seneca failed abjectly to exemplify the glittering aphorisms of his writings, and it is the basis of this opinion that I intend to examine, attacking the problem as sketched by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in a letter<sup>1</sup> to Karl Münscher on the personality of Seneca:

One who defended or tolerated fratricide, previously regicide, then even matricide, who let himself acquire the fat which his portrait indicates, who became other than the person represented in the *Epistles*. A great sinner. But the very fact that he wrote these *Epistles*, as well as dialogues and dramas, is evidence that here is not merely an extraordinary man, memorable forever, but a problem. It is worth while once more to evaluate the man.

In approaching a problem of this sort, we should properly first consider what Seneca says in his *Epistles* and then examine his life in order to see whether the statements find a basis in practice. We need not necessarily consider his expressed attitude toward every vice and virtue, as Miss Lee has done with considerable thoroughness (cf. the *Classical Weekly* xix [1925], 35-38), but only overt expressions of his attitude in so far as they bear on ethical problems which we know that he faced during his life.

We naturally feel at the outset that we should like to know how much emphasis Seneca himself placed upon consistency in word and deed, for all criticism of his insincerity assumes that he

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Dr. Münscher in his "Bericht über die Senecaliteratur aus den Jahren 1915-1921," *Bursians Jahresbericht* xcii (1922), 113.

taught ideals which he pretended to practise but did not; while censure of his moral weakness supposes that he aspired to practise those ideals but could not. We must certainly establish his attitude on this point, and preferably by quotation of his own words.

We should so learn them [precepts of courage and spirit] that words become deeds. I believe that none have ever treated mankind worse than those who studied philosophy like some venal trade, who do not live as they teach one should live. [CVIII, 36<sup>2</sup>]

Philosophy teaches us to act, not to speak, and demands that each should live according to his code and that his life should not disagree with his words, that his inner life should be of one hue and in complete concord with all his actions. This is the highest duty and proof of wisdom, that word and deed shall accord. [XX, 2]

In the face of these sentiments, any marked difference between Seneca's life and expressed philosophy will infallibly expose him either to the just charge of insincerity of expression or of rheumatic morality. He might, since the *Epistles* were written in the latter part of his life, take refuge in the declaration that earlier acts not in accord with his code were directed by an inexperience corrected by ripening wisdom; but there is no indication of any notable change of outlook during the active period of his life. He must live as he says men should live, or stand convicted.

Now with such parts of the life of Seneca as seem to harmonize with his doctrines we are not here particularly concerned. It is when his solution of vital problems seems inconsistent that we subject him to critical scrutiny. At several points in his life Seneca confronted vital crises and trimmed his facile sails to accommodate the adverse wind with a dexterity that smacks of hypocrisy. Yet, by his own explicit statement, these dexterous tacks must find justification in his philosophy in order to avoid the taint of insincerity, for the Stoic doctrine of perfection permits no compromise. A thing is either perfect or imperfect; an act is right or wrong; the theft of a napkin and the murder of a

<sup>2</sup> Due credit must be given R. M. Gummere, whose translation (Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols., 1917, 1920, and 1925) I have used freely in quoting from the *Epistles*. All references are to the *Epistles* unless otherwise stated.

friend are equally bad; while endurance of hideous torture and fastidious enjoyment of a banquet are equally good. His choice was between right and wrong, not which of two acts was better or worse. Compromise, the selection of the lesser of two evils, and the doing of a comparative good were all impossible. Action was directed, to be sure, toward the ultimate good; and intermediate acts of apparently shameful character were actually proper when aimed at a good end. Activity was not to be interpreted except in terms of the goodness or badness of this end, which might or might not be achieved. If unforeseen vicissitudes arose to prevent Seneca from attaining some definite goal which threw its shadow back over his earlier activity, we are able neither to criticize the goal (unless it is obvious what he was aiming at) nor the acts that lead toward it, in the absence of their ultimate realization.

If there is any one thing in life that has the stamp of finality, it is death; and we shall certainly find in the suicide of Seneca the perfect realization of an intention. For this reason and because the determination of Seneca's real attitude toward death will be of help in the consideration of problems that arose during his life it is wise at this point to see what he has to say about death and in what way he met it.

Believe me, Lucilius, death is so little to be feared that, thanks to it, nothing is to be feared [xxiv, 11].

Death overtakes all; the slayer follows the slain. It is a trivial matter about which there is so much anxiety. [xciii, 12]

If a man destined to die in two or three days at his enemy's pleasure lives, he is doing "another man's work" [lxx, 10].

And so without timidity I am preparing for that day when, putting aside all the artifices of life, I shall be ready to pass judgment upon myself, whether I merely speak or actually feel brave sentiments, whether all the threats I have uttered against ill fortune are a pretense and a parade [xxvi, 5].

These were his words. Turning now to Tacitus, we find an account of how he realized these words. Nero, choosing to believe from the remark Seneca had made to Natalis, 'that his own welfare depended upon Piso's safety,' that Seneca was involved in



the conspiracy of Piso to supplant him, sent Gavius Silvanus to question him on this point. The latter reported to Nero in the presence of Poppaea and Tigellinus the reply of Seneca, 'that he had no reason to put the welfare of a private individual ahead of his own safety and was not a man addicted to flattery.' Tacitus continues:

Nero asked whether Seneca was preparing to take his life. Then the tribune declared he had seen no sign of alarm, no dejection in Seneca's language or countenance. He was therefore ordered to return and tell him that he must die. [*Annals* xv, 61, 4]

Seneca, undismayed, asked for his will and, upon the centurion refusing, turned to his friends with the remark that, since he was prevented from requiting them in accordance with their deserts, he bequeathed them what was now his sole, but fairest, possession—the pattern of his life; and if they would bear this in mind, they would reap as the reward of devoted friendship the reputation of good character. Now he checked their tears with conversation; now by rebuke he fortified their resolution, asking where now were the precepts of wisdom and the attitude toward threatening events reflected on for so many years. [*Ibid.* xv, 62, 1-3]

Having said these and similar things as if to all in common, he embraced his wife and, softening somewhat his resolution, implored her to moderate her grief and not to cling to it forever, but in the contemplation of a virtuous life to make her yearning for her husband more endurable by noble solaces. But she declared she was also resolved to die and demanded the aid of a surgeon. Then Seneca, not resisting her glorious resolution and not caring to leave behind exposed to insults one whom he loved so dearly, said, "I have showed how you may make life bearable; you prefer a noble death; I will not begrudge you the example. Let our fortitude in this noble end be equal; in yours will be the greater glory." [*Ibid.* xv, 63, 1]

Even in his last moments his eloquence did not fail him; and summoning secretaries, he dictated several things which publication in his own words makes it unnecessary to reproduce [*ibid.* xv, 63, 7].

Such was Seneca's end, a perfect realization of his Stoic principles. In our examination of the problems of his life we can now feel assured that fear of death was not a factor in the solution. Equally noteworthy is the calm assurance in the virtue and consistency of his life that he evidenced at the threshold of death.

It implies that he was aware of no deviation from principle during life and that any such variation must either have been apparent or have escaped his notice. The only alternative is to believe that at the very moment when he was about to quit life without hysteria and without complaint he could flourish empty philosophic phrases, urge his friends to adopt the pattern of a life which he knew was a mere parade, and slip from life with a lie on his lips. The thing is almost incredible.

Having considered his death, we are now in a better position to examine the life of Seneca and to see more clearly the practical operation of his principles. The first vital problem to confront Seneca owed its inception to his rhetorical ability. He had rather reluctantly at the instance of his father diverted his talents from the pursuit of philosophy to a career of advocacy, and his rise was rapid and brilliant. All went well until his scintillating defense of a case in the Senate directly antagonized Gaius, who was inordinately vain of his powers of invective and already jealous of Seneca's literary and oratorical ability. Gaius did not welcome the competition, and Seneca's execution would have followed but for the intervention of a favorite, who assured the emperor that the asthma would soon accomplish all that he could hope from the executioner.

Seneca took the hint and abandoned his dangerous legal activities, retiring to the shelter of philosophy. He clearly took this step to avoid losing his life; yet he could scarcely have acted from fear of death in view of his serenity later on, when brought face to face with it. Let us see what we find in his *Epistles* to guide us at this point.

I disagree with those who plunge among the waves and, welcoming a stormy life, struggle valiantly with difficult problems daily. The wise man will endure all that, but will not choose it, and will prefer to be at peace rather than at war. [xxviii, 7]

The wise man will never provoke the anger of those in power; rather will he modify his course as though weathering a storm at sea [xiv, 8].

The dilemma which Seneca faced was whether to continue his advocacy in the face of almost certain death or to abandon it in favor of the quiet study of philosophy. We have already seen

that his natural inclination was toward cloistered study, and in his avowed preference for a sheltered life and in his policy of avoiding unnecessary trouble he finds ample justification for the course he took.

His exile by Claudius to the island of Corsica offers a rather more difficult problem. According to the Stoic dogma, a wise man is sufficient to himself, depending upon no external circumstances of time or environment for serenity of mind. Misfortune, poverty, illness, torture, exile, death are only neutral phenomena, devoid of personal connection unless voluntarily admitted to the mind.

For the mind is more powerful than any sort of fortune and of itself guides its affairs in either direction and is itself the cause of a happy life or a wretched one [xcviii, 2].

I may be exiled; I shall then regard myself as born in the place to which I shall be sent [xxiv, 17].

The barrenness, endless tedium, and actual privation of exile are only *indifferentiae* by this dogma, incapable of disturbing the equilibrium of the true philosopher. This environment, therefore, put Seneca's Stoic principles to a very real test.

At first he ignored his hardships with genuine fortitude; but with the passage of years his resolution corroded until at last he indited a letter to Polybius, an influential aide of Claudius, consoling him on the recent death of a young brother. The letter reeks with flattery of the most obvious kind, refers to Claudius as a god, an oracle, the father of mankind, the regenerator of the world, and a fountain of tenderness, mercy, and beneficence, and finally mentions with an air of casualness that a change of environment would be desirable. There is no need of dealing here with the viciousness of his attack upon Claudius after the latter's death, however much contrast it presents to the language of this indirect petition, except to note the statement attributed to him by Tacitus that he was not addicted to flattery. We certainly have here tangible evidence that the Stoic ideal of self-sufficiency was beyond Seneca's grasp. The absolute sterility of social life upon the island of Corsica, after his intense activity

in Rome, finally became too much for him to bear; and he was forced to acknowledge by the explicit expression of his desire for a change that external factors did have a real effect on his inner serenity.

Some justification for this admission may be found in *Epistle* LVI, where Seneca expounds his ability to concentrate in the midst of distractions. He reiterates his dogma of inner serenity in the face of external disturbances, declaring that the mind is capable of maintaining its peace by its own virtue. At the end of the letter, however, in answer to a query which he imagines his friend making, he says:

I admit it. Accordingly I shall change my residence. I only wanted to test and discipline myself. What need is there of torturing myself any longer, when Ulysses found so simple a cure for his companions, even against the Sirens?

Seneca, having exposed his philosophic calm to the early years of exile and occupied his mind by the production of tragedies and essays, might well say: 'I have tested myself adequately. There is no longer any need of subjecting myself to the killing tedium of this environment. I should be back in Rome, where I belong.' And regarding his recall as a good end, he would feel justified in adopting the most effective means of attaining that end, which seemed to be the dispatching of a letter to Polybius.

The letter did nothing except betray his wish to return. It was Agrippina who finally was responsible for his recall; she wanted a tutor for the youthful Nero, coheir with Britannicus. Seneca came back willingly enough and established an association with the imperial household that was to give rise to many an embarrassing problem for even a Stoic philosopher. His ethical adjustments to the difficulties of this environment present phases that seem to condemn him forthright of breaking with his code. The assassination by poison of Claudius (although Ferrero suggests that he died of gastroenteritis), the murder of Britannicus, and the elimination of Agrippina, as well as his indulgent acquiescence in Nero's excesses, are not easy to reconcile with the ideals of a philosopher.

The immediate and inevitable increase of worldly possessions that resulted from this association is not the least of these problems. Seneca's great wealth under imperial patronage is a fact beyond dispute. In the year A.D. 58 he was attacked by Publius Suillius, who spoke somewhat as follows:

By what sort of learning was it, by what principles of philosophy had Seneca amassed a sum of 300,000,000 sesterces during four years of imperial favor? At Rome the childless and their inheritances were taken in his toils; his exorbitant usuries were draining Italy and the provinces. [Tacitus, *Annals* XIII, 42, 6f]

The truth of most of this is highly dubious, when we consider that Suillius was driven from lie to lie and finally banished. The roundness of the figure savors of rhetoric, and the rest is totally without proof. The fact of Seneca's wealth is enough for our purpose. Let us see what Seneca himself has to say about the possession of wealth.

Is it not true that you should cherish poverty for this sole reason, that it will show you by whom you are loved? [xx, 7]

Reduce yourself to humble conditions, from which you cannot fall [xx, 8].

Consider how you will receive this prayer of mine, offered in a noble, not merely a good, spirit: "May gods and goddesses prevent fortune from keeping you in luxury." [xcvi, 4]

Those whom the soft bonds of fetid luxury confine, while others toil, are mere turtle doves, safe because despised [xcvi, 5].

For these two things are, as it were, opposed to each other — good fortune and a good heart; so are we wiser in adversity, for prosperity dispels rectitude [xciv, 74].

To counterbalance this positive condemnation of wealth we find no attempt in his *Epistles* to justify retaining it on the ground that it is a negative feature of environment, without power to injure the virtue of the true Stoic, whose mind should theoretically be capable of excluding the temptations of luxury as easily as the rigors of poverty. On the contrary, Seneca regards wealth as an actual menace, dangerous to the morals of a wise man, a thing to be avoided if anticipated and rejected if acquired. He does not seem to have much justification for the possession of his huge fortune.

There is no reason to believe that Seneca was not aware that wealth held perils as great for him as for those to whom he preached. He certainly knew the criticism to which it exposed him and remarked sagely enough:

Few men have been permitted to lay aside prosperity gently [LXXIV, 18].

We must not too quickly assume that he kept his wealth and even let it increase because the ease of life it brought outweighed its potential danger. The problem deserves a closer scrutiny.

At the time of Claudius' death Nero distributed lavish gifts among important persons to attach them to himself.

There were those who censured men of austere professions, because at such a time they had distributed among themselves town houses and villas, like so much plunder. Others thought that pressure was applied by the emperor, who was conscious of his guilt but hoped for pardon if he could involve the most influential men by largesses. [Tacitus, *Annals* XIII, 18]

Tacitus, who is inclined to condone Seneca's failings, attributes to him a pertinent remark in the course of his plea to Nero to be allowed to give up the greater part of his wealth:

One excuse only comes to me; it was not for me to resist gifts coming from you [*ibid.*, XIV, 53, 6].

For the sake of emphasis it is well to repeat a declaration of Seneca which we have noted earlier:

The wise man will never provoke the anger of those in power; rather will he modify his course as though weathering a storm at sea [XIV, 8].

The situation now becomes clearer. We see his wealth thrust upon him by a person in authority and reluctantly accepted in order to avoid trouble. In view of his simple, abstemious habits and the facts just mentioned, it is hard to believe that Seneca had any wish for riches for their own sake. He simply bowed his head with Stoic submissiveness to the inevitable course of events. The readiness to commit suicide at an imperial suggestion, the maintenance of serenity in the face of adverse fortune, and the dogma of the self-sufficiency of the mind had as their complement acquiescence with authority. An order to die was obeyed with tranquillity; a reversal of fortune caused not even a



ruffle; extravagant gifts from the emperor were accepted with complaisance by the Stoic, however trying any one of these events might be. Human authority and the whimsy of fortune were regarded with precisely the same mental attitude. This principle is Seneca's refuge if his conduct is questioned. He both enunciated it and practised it, leaving us no loophole for declaring that in this regard he did not live as he said men should.

His humanitarian attitude, moreover, is indicative of a character superior to the lust for wealth. A man who regards the acquisition of a fortune as an end in itself will regard other men only as instruments to reach that end. Seneca, on the contrary, is outspoken in his criticism of the accepted institutions of slavery and the gladiatorial combats. In *Epistle VII* he expresses his disgust at the brutality of the gladiatorial shows, revolted at the useless waste of life and the callousness of the spectators. Note also:

Man, an object that should be sacred to man, is slaughtered for play and sport; and those whom it was once sacrilegious to train for the infliction and reception of wounds are now exposed naked and defenseless; and the death of a man affords a satisfying spectacle [xcv, 33].

I do not care to launch myself into too large a field and to discuss the treatment of slaves, towards whom we are extremely haughty, cruel, and insulting. Yet this is the essence of my advice: Treat your inferiors as you would be treated by your superiors and, as often as you reflect how much power you have over a slave, remember that your master has just as much over you. You may declare that you have no master. You are still young; you may have one yet. [XLVII, 11]

The exact extent to which he practised these sentiments is not to be ascertained. We may surely infer from the opening of *Epistle VII*, however, that it was not his habit to attend the combats, and that he attended this one in the hope of seeing something less obnoxious than the usual slaughter. Although a moderately severe attitude toward slaves would of itself have provoked no criticism from his enemies, yet any notable discrepancy between his professed and actual attitude would probably have left its mark in hostile criticism. I think we may believe that there was no inconsistency in the application of his senti-

ments upon slavery and the combats; and believing this, we should take an additional step and distrust any view that tries to reconcile the presence in one person of such dissonant qualities as humanitarianism and greed for wealth.

Someone is going to ask at this point how this principle applies to such modern philanthropists as Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Rhodes. There were public benefactors in the ancient world as well, men who used their wealth in the construction of public works, in the municipalities as well as in Rome. But these are almost invariably men who have built up their fortunes by constructive activity, turning philanthropists in later maturity. In Seneca's case prosperity inundated him. He made no active effort to acquire or to relinquish his wealth until it was too late. If a man is eager for wealth and secures it in this way, there is but the remotest chance that he will be sympathetic toward his inferiors, considerate of those over whom he has authority, and opposed to wanton waste of life. Such characteristics strengthen the supposition that Seneca accepted wealth under pressure.

We come now to that series of acts of violence to which the philosopher was a passive or active party — the supposed assassination of Claudius, the brutal poisoning of Britannicus, and the revolting murder of Agrippina. If Claudius was actually assassinated, Seneca was either in close touch with events and knew what was coming or could guess. Since he failed to warn Claudius, we are left to believe either that he did not care to endanger his own skin by interfering with what seemed inevitable or that he thought the welfare of the state depended upon the immediate elimination of Claudius, despite the extreme youth of Nero. Perhaps he hoped that by this step his own authority would be enhanced and that judicious direction of the young Nero would insure better government than under Claudius. This seems to be confirmed by his open approval of the murder of Britannicus, by which Nero's possession of the imperial power was established beyond dispute, although actual direction continued in the hands of Seneca and Burrus. Our humanitarian philosopher viewed this political expedient with so little horror that only ten

months later in his *De Clementia* he exalted Nero as a paragon of mercy and kindness.

Finally there is the matricide. Tacitus states, after telling of the failure of Nero's prearranged marine accident:

He asked Burrus and Seneca whether they had any suggestion, for he had summoned them as soon as he arose. Whether they had any foreknowledge is uncertain. Neither of them spoke for a time. Attempts to dissuade Nero might be useless; possibly they thought matters had reached such a point that, unless Agrippina were anticipated, it would be Nero who would have to die. [*Annals* xiv, 7, 2]

Seneca, with considerable hesitation, inquired whether the praetorians should not kill her, committing himself beyond recall. The infamous speech which Nero sent to the Senate from Naples after the event was almost surely composed by Seneca, and won him no small degradation. People had learned to expect the worst of Nero, but it was not thought comely for a philosopher to frame so insincere an excuse for a monstrous matricide.

Seneca's policy in his management of Nero was one of bland acquiescence, of submission to authority whenever opposition seemed likely to cause trouble. While Nero was young, his regulation was naturally stricter; but as the prince grew to appreciate the extent of his power, greater complaisance seemed suitable. Shortly after Nero acquired the supreme power the deaths of Julius Silanus and Narcissus were contrived by Agrippina without the approval of Nero. Tacitus continues:

There would have been more bloodshed had not Afranius Burrus and Annaeus Seneca stood in the way. These governors of the young emperor, with a concert rare between partners in power, acquired by different means an equal authority over Nero — Burrus by his soldierly qualities and his disciplined character, Seneca by his lessons in rhetoric and his well-bred affability, each helping the other to confine the prince during the slippery period of his youth within the bounds of conceded pleasures, should he reject virtue. [*Ibid.*, XIII, 2, 1]

But as Nero became more sure of himself, the difficulty of restraining him correspondingly increased and opposition from Seneca proportionately decreased. For instance:

Nero had long had a notion to drive in a chariot race and a no less

disreputable fancy to sing to the lyre on the stage. There was no holding him back, and Seneca and Burrus thought it better to give way on one of the two points to prevent his insisting on both. [Tacitus, *Annals* xiv, 14, 1]

This policy of indulgence led inevitably to ruin. Seneca, believing he could retain control over Nero, allowed the elimination of opponents until only his own person stood between Nero and unrestrained exercise of authority. Even withdrawal from public life was then not enough to save Seneca from the fate that had overtaken all others who had stood between Nero and his desires, and he too died. It is true that complete abstinence from political life might have saved him from acquiring such administrative prestige as to be a menace to Nero, but his return to Rome from exile was dependent upon his acceptance of the tutorship of Nero; and at no time thereafter was he in a position to withdraw. Direct opposition to the emperor would have meant an earlier death, and an attempt to retire might in itself have been interpreted as opposition, even if Seneca was not sure that the administration was better off for his presence. It is hard to judge the wisdom of his policy at this distance, although we may be certain that conditions would have been far more vicious if he had not held the position of authority that he did. Political expediency formed the practical basis of his attitude, while his guiding philosophic principle was the Stoic resignation upon which we have remarked before.

A study of Seneca's mental attitude is most fruitful when directed at such salient points of his life as these; other less important episodes would fit into the general pattern without material effect. These provide adequate material for an examination of Seneca's ethics and for comparing his words and practice. At all important points, and especially at those which have exposed him to criticism, Seneca finds justification for his course of action in the principles he sets forth in his *Epistles*. The statement of Gummere (Vol. I, p. xii) that "the facts of Seneca's life prove the sincerity of his utterances" is well grounded. We should avoid accusing Seneca of insincerity, considering the consistency

with which he stuck to his principles in the face of monstrous obstacles. If there are features of his life which are repugnant to us, we should be careful to attribute them neither to moral weakness nor to hypocrisy, but to mistaken ethical conceptions, to faulty guiding principles.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### NESTOR'S WOUNDED HORSE

When Homer describes in the eighth book of the *Iliad* the panic and flight of the Greeks he makes a little sarcastic merri-ment at the expense of the serious and all too self-conscious Nestor by saying:

Nestor alone remained, the bulwark of the Achaeans, but not of his own volition, for his horse was in trouble, the horse which Paris shot with an arrow, hitting him just at the top of the skull where the first hairs of the mane appear and where there is a vital spot. The beast reared in anguish when the missile entered its brain, and it threw the other horses in confusion as it whirled around the weapon of bronze.

The last phrase in VIII, 86 (κυλινδόμενος περὶ χαλκῷ) may also mean "as it whirled around because of the missile." There is such an overlapping of the adverb and the preposition in Homer that the choice is often only a matter of editing. I have no doubt that the dative is causal and that περὶ is an adverb, and hence that the second rendering is the correct one.

The ancient paraphrast believed that the last word "bronze" meant the bronze of the rims of the chariot wheels, hence the horse must have reared up and thrown himself upon the wheels; and he so changes it into prose.

Walter Leaf thinks very poorly of the passage, but he translates the last three words "writhing around the point of the arrow," and he calls it "a bold phrase." Then, after referring to several parallel passages which are not parallel, he adds "but in all these other cases the victim is pierced through the middle of the body, which makes the expression more natural." So far as



I know, all other Homeric editors, as well as he, have missed completely the real meaning of the three significant words.

I owe the true explanation to a chance remark of Dr. Walter Libby, author of many works on the history of science and of medicine, who in conversation said that there is an area in the posterior brain where if an animal is wounded this animal does not fall prostrate but immediately begins to whirl with great violence. I have consulted experts in this matter and they all confirm the remark made by Dr. Libby.

The distinguished physician and scientist, Dean Irving S. Cutter of Northwestern University, has kindly given me his diagnosis of the wound received by the horse of Nestor:

The arrow evidently passed through the thin portion of the cranium along the lower part of the cerebrum and entered the cerebellum, which in horses is relatively large and exceeds considerably in size the cerebrum. This wounding of the cerebellum would have caused the horse to lose completely the sense of orientation, and the muscular exertion would have resulted in violent circular movements. This description in Homer appears to be an unusually acute observation of the physiological effects of a wound in the cerebellum.

It was this sudden and unexpected whirling motion which so entangled the horse and which made it so hard for the excited Nestor to cut the traces or straps which held him to the chariot and the other horses.

There can be little doubt that in this passage Homer's knowledge was better than that of his critics and that another Homeric difficulty vanishes when the facts the poet had observed are again known.

JOHN A. SCOTT

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## Book Reviews

A. S. COOK AND OTHERS, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII, "The Hellenistic Monarchies and The Rise of Rome": Cambridge, University Press (1928). Pp. xxxi+988, with 14 maps and 4 chronological and genealogical tables. 36s.

Volume V of this monumental work carried the subtitle "Athens" and Volume VI, "Macedon." No such simple subtitles can describe the ground covered in the present volume. It covers the history of the Mediterranean regions from the death of Alexander down to the end of the Second Illyrian War and the subsequent events in Illyria and Greece until 217-216 B.C. At the beginning of this period the world had fallen into chaos after the death of its great master, Alexander; at the close of the period the stage is set for the Second Punic War. It is one of the most complicated and one of the most interesting periods in ancient history, a period on which it is difficult for the student to find exact information but a period which has been ably covered in the present volume.

Volumes V and VI were written entirely by English scholars. In the present volume, the United States, France, Germany, and Russia are represented in addition to England. The foreign contributors have written in their own language and the translation has been made by English scholars. Professor Ferguson contributes the first chapter of the volume on the "Leading Ideas of the New Period." Professor Rostovtzeff writes on "Ptolemaic Egypt" and "Syria and the East" (Chapters IV and V). Professor Homo of the University of Lyons contributes Chapter XVII on the "Gallic Wars of Rome," and Professor Holleaux of the University of Paris Chapter XXVI on the "Romans in Illyria." Professor Schulten of the University of Erlangen has written Chapter XXIV on the "Carthaginians in Spain," and Professor Frank has been selected to write part of the early

history of Rome. He has contributed Chapter XX on "Pyrrhus," Chapter XXI on "The First Punic War," and Chapter XXII on "Rome after the Conquest of Sicily." The value of the work should be considerably enhanced by the selection of authorities from the whole scholarly world rather than limiting the contributors to the British Isles.

Besides the chapters already mentioned, this volume covers the early history of the Gallic Race, the Hellenistic kingdoms into which Alexander's empire was divided, the history of Athens, Alexandrian literature, and Hellenistic science and mathematics. "The Rise of Rome and Its Early History" is ably covered by Mr. H. Stuart Jones and Mr. Hugh Last. Mr. Tarn has been responsible for the chapters on Egypt and on Macedonia as well as the history of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

Mr. Tarn has written his chapters in that same brilliant style which has characterized his work in the earlier volumes of the series. He has the faculty of making his characters live, and he writes of them as if he really enjoyed portraying them. His is the kind of writing that makes history a joy to read. The last fight of Demetrius (p. 88), the sordid end of Pyrrhus (p. 215), and the character of Aratus (p. 22) are fine examples of his historical prose.

Sir Thomas Heath's work, "Science in the Hellenistic Period," is already known to a wide circle of readers through his contribution to the *Legacy of Greece*.<sup>1</sup> Here he summarizes that notable contribution in a very interesting way. He speaks of Archimedes as anticipating the calculus, and of Euclid's geometry he says: "No book but the Bible has had such a reign" (p. 299). He has, it seems to me, done ample justice to the very remarkable achievement of the Greeks in this period. Professor Ferguson has laid all students under a great debt to him by the masterly way in which he has summed up the ideals of this difficult period in the first chapter. From the opening page, in which he treats of the experimental character of the age, to the close of the chapter which he alliteratively styles "The Self-Sufficiency of

<sup>1</sup> Edited by R. W. Livingstone: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1923), 97-136.

Sages" there is not a page that does not have its striking sentence and its well-thought generalization. No better introduction to this difficult period could be desired.

Professor Frank writes with his usual clarity and good judgment. His account of the First Punic War will not satisfy all critics, but it seems to me essentially sound. In spite of its improbability there is no inherent reason why a nonnaval power like Rome should not defeat on the sea accomplished seamen like the Carthaginians. It seems improbable, but to the best of our knowledge it is exactly what happened; and Professor Frank makes no mistake, I believe, in accepting the evidence of the Roman and Greek historians on this point.

In the treatment of the legends the authors of this volume seem to me to have made a great advance on the earlier historians of Rome. Professor Jones says: "Amid much that is false the tradition [of Early Rome] contains a nucleus of truth" (p. 332). The historians in this volume emphasize the word "truth" in this sentence. Twenty years ago a historian would have emphasized the word "false." Mr. Frank accepts the story of Regulus (p. 689) as authentic history. Romulus (p. 365) is still a tradition, and so is Titus Tatius (p. 371); but the other kings of Rome are pictured as historic figures. In my opinion the authors are still too skeptical. Thus, Mr. Jones pronounces Spurius Maelius a person of doubtful authenticity (pp. 325 f); yet Mr. Last conclusively proves the existence of Minucius, the *Praefectus Annonae*, whose futile efforts to collect grain gave this very Maelius his chance to court popular favor (p. 536). If it is demonstrable that one of these two men is a historic character, it seems to me that the presumption of the reality of the other is reasonable.

The space devoted to Hellenistic literature seems to me rather brief, and I cannot agree with all of Mr. Barber's criticisms of Theocritus. It is hardly fair to his *Heracles* to describe it as "a night alarm in a bourgeoisie family" (p. 280), nor is it accurate to translate Simaetha's heart-breaking lament ἄ δ' ἐμὰ οὐ σιγῇ στένων ἐντόσθεν ἀνία (II, 39) "but not silent is the heart within my breast" (p. 279).

The excellence of the maps that characterizes Volume VI is continued in this volume, and the chronological and genealogical tables are a great help in studying this perplexing period. The book, which contains a thousand pages, is too large; it is cumbersome to handle, and a better division of the material might have been made. One misses here the early history of the Etruscans and has to look back for it in Volume IV. It would have been better, although chronologically not so logical, to include the early history of this enigmatic people with the early history of Rome.

On the title-page of this volume for the first time appears the name of Mr. M. P. Charlesworth. By his scholarly attainments he has well won his position as an editor of the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

LOUIS E. LORD

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GEORGE HOLLAND SABINE AND STANLEY BARNEY SMITH,  
*Marcus Tullius Cicero, On the Commonwealth*, translated  
with Notes and Introduction: Columbus, The Ohio State  
University Press (1929). Pp. ix+276. \$3.50.

With this attractive volume Messrs. Sabine and Smith have made a valuable contribution to our understanding of Cicero's great work on political science. Cicero's *Republic* is an important document, because, as the editors point out, we have no work on political theory in all the nearly three hundred years between Aristotle and Cicero. Many were written, but none has come down to us. Their loss is the more unfortunate, because those three centuries were a period of transition between two great social and political ideals, from city-state to world-wide empire.

Cicero is not to be numbered among the greatest writers on politics. He did not, for example, possess the profound insight of Thucydides, the imagination and moral fervor of Plato, the analytical and comparative faculty of Aristotle, or the broad experience of Polybius. Nor is he to be numbered among the great luminaries of Roman jurisprudence. And yet in some ways Cicero's view of the state is as important as any which they set forth. He reflects, perhaps with exceptional liberalism,

the scope and character of the political ideals which prevailed in senatorial and literary circles at Rome during the half century before Augustus. From the popularity of his work *On the Commonwealth* we may infer the degree to which Cicero's speculations found adherents; we can thus recreate in part the intellectual interests of that important period. [P. 40]

As the title suggests, the material is fairly distributed between Introduction (99 pages) and translation and commentary (165 pages), the notes varying in copiousness from very little to more than half a page of finely printed matter. A welcome addition is the carefully compiled Index.

The Introduction gives a brief story of the Vatican palimpsest, our only manuscript of the *De Re Publica*. This is followed by a short sketch of Cicero's life and of the interlocutors of the dialogue. About one half of the Introduction is devoted to a survey of the history of political theory from the Cynics and Stoics down to and including Panaetius, the friend and companion of Scipio and Laelius and their Table Round. After that comes a careful discussion of Cicero's own political theories as set forth in the *Commonwealth* and the *Laws*.

The translation is in the main accurate, though frequently the English of Cicero's weighty periods labors heavily. As a specimen of slight inaccuracy, we may cite "that whole law was abrogated" (*lex illa tota sublata est*, p. 182), which were more idiomatically rendered "that law was completely abrogated"; "statutes on fines and judicial wagers" (*de multa et sacramento*, p. 187); "for there was nothing that was the people's affair" (*nihil enim populi . . . erat*, p. 205). Much is lost by the failure even to approximate Cicero's many plays on words (e. g. on p. 182).

With fine discrimination the authors have identified and assigned to fitting places in the context many fragments of the *Republic* gathered from St. Augustine, Lactantius, and other sources.

The publishers also have done their part well as regards material, make-up, and composition. Misprints are few: I have



noted only "virture" (p. 24), "condtion" (p. 84), "a wise men" (p. 110), and "eight-nine" (p. 174).

WALTER MILLER

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ALFRED GUDEMAN, *Tacitus, De Vita Iulii Agricolae* and *De Germania*,<sup>2</sup> with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Index: Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1928). Pp. xii+409. \$2.

This is a revision of the author's textbook first published in 1899. The brief Preface, which takes the place of the separate Prefaces for the *Agricola* and *Germania* in the first edition, states that the new manuscript evidence that has come to light "has proved of special value only for the recension of the text of the *Agricola*." While alterations have been made in the text of the *Germania* and in its Critical Appendix, they are greatly outnumbered by those made in the text of the *Agricola*. The Critical Appendix to the latter work has been practically rewritten. The new readings clarify the text, and Gudeman's defense of them is usually convincing.

In the case of the notes the situation is reversed. Except for many additional references to parallel passages in other Latin authors, the notes on the *Agricola* are almost word for word as in the first edition. The notes on the *Germania*, on the other hand, have been thoroughly revised and greatly improved. They contain much additional material based on the work done in this field in recent years.

The technical portions of the Introduction that dealt with the literary character, purpose, sources, trustworthiness, and style and rhetoric of the two works have been relegated to the appendices, on the theory that they will not be of interest to some of the students for whom the edition is primarily intended. Many footnotes have been inserted, especially in the sections bearing on the *Germania*; and some slight alterations and insertions have been made in the text of these appendices, but in substance they are as before. The only thing left in the Introduction is the four-page section dealing with the life of Tacitus.

The present arrangement with the notes on both texts followed

by the appendices dealing with technical subjects, and these in turn followed by both critical appendices, makes the whole work appear as a unit instead of as two books pieced together. The numbering of the lines in the new edition is by chapters instead of by pages as in the old.

There are several new features. Introductions to the critical appendices give a brief and clear account of the textual history of the two works. An Index Nominum et Rerum is a valuable addition. It is well arranged and complete and makes the material in the notes readily available. Under the caption "Germans" there are over one hundred and thirty topics arranged in alphabetical order. The book contains twenty-one full-page illustrations. Those illustrating the *Agricola* are portraits of the emperors, arranged without any regard to chronological sequence. Most of those illustrating the *Germania* are taken from the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

This revised edition is in every way an improvement over the old, and will be welcomed by college teachers.

H. J. BASSETT

SOUTHWESTERN

ALFRED ZIMMERN, *Solon and Croesus, and Other Greek Essays*: London, Humphrey Milford (1928). Pp. vi+199. \$3.

The present volume is by the well-known author of *The Greek Commonwealth*, the fourth edition of which appeared in 1924<sup>1</sup>; and those who are familiar with Mr. Zimmern's earlier publications realize that he is able to speak with considerable authority upon the social and economic problems that confronted ancient Greece. In the book now under review he deals with five main topics as follows: I, "History as an Art"; II, "The Study of Greek History"; III, "Thucydides the Imperialist"; IV and V, "Was Greek Civilization Based on Slave Labour?" and VI, "Suggestions Towards a Political Economy of the Greek City-State." In a long Introduction of forty pages he develops the idea that gives the title to the book. Solon and Croesus are found to be

<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Clarendon Press. The first edition was printed in 1911.

types of character which are not limited to the ancient world but which have continued down through the ages to our own day.

It is only with the main thesis of the book that the present review will be concerned. In Chapters IV and V the author at once admits that slavery was widespread in Greece, but he believes that, if we are to answer the main question, we must first determine more definitely than is usually done the actual conditions of such slavery. He thinks that there were probably two main types of slaves: chattel-slaves and apprentice-slaves, the first class being considered mere property, the second enjoying a degree of freedom with the reasonable hope of being at some time completely free. The discussion then turns to the occupation of slaves, their value and treatment, the Greek prejudice against labor, the characteristics of a good slave, etc. We are finally given the conclusion that Greek society was not a slave society but contained a sediment of slaves who performed its most degrading tasks, while most of its so-called slaves were really apprentices, who had been brought in from the outside to act as assistants to their masters, with the hope of sharing the results of the civilization thus made possible.

In the concluding essay Mr. Zimmern finds that the main hindrance to the development of a political economy of the Greek city-state is due to the fact that money never held the prominence in the ancient world that it has had in modern states. In his attempt, therefore, to construct such a political economy he would proceed as follows: Starting at the time when money came into general use (about the late eighth or early seventh century B.C.), he would extend the period to the end of the fourth century B.C., including in this survey only the cities of Greece proper and Asia Minor. At the same time he would give a picture of the social and economic conditions of the districts he is studying. He would frequently have recourse to modern economic theory.

This brief summary of so important a book hardly suggests the great range of discussion in which the author engages. But to the present reviewer there seem to be certain defects in the

book that cannot easily be passed over. First, there are no notes to indicate the author's sources, and there is no bibliography, although by turning to *The Greek Commonwealth* the reader can find a good deal that he may need along those lines. But why should we not have references to such useful studies as Trever's *A History of Greek Economic Thought*<sup>2</sup> and to Miss Sargent's "The Size of the Slave Population at Athens"<sup>3</sup>? Such criticism is especially pertinent when we observe that two of the essays are reprints, with little or no change, of papers published twenty years ago.

One cannot agree with Mr. Zimmern that prejudice against labor was so nearly universal in Greece, for there are too many references in literature indicating the opposite feeling. The final conclusion, also, that a political economy of Greece can be based mainly on theoretical economics seems rather startling, for, as Mr. Zimmern's survey<sup>4</sup> shows, in the past we have had a maximum of speculation and a minimum of fact. What we seem to need, therefore, is more fact; and if that is to be had it will probably come from archaeological sources. Perhaps some day enough fact can be derived from inscriptions, coins, pottery, and other evidence that excavation is constantly giving us to make possible the writing of an economic history of Greece.

But in spite of these and other criticisms that might be made, the book is one that every serious student of the Greek city-state must consider.

E. L. HIGHBARGER

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CYRIL E. ROBINSON, *A History of Greece*: New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company (1929). Pp. xii+480, with 33 illustrations and 23 maps. \$3.50.

A single-volume Greek History which shall be both readable and up-to-date has long been a desideratum. Botsford's *Hellenic*

<sup>2</sup> Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1916), not cited in *The Greek Commonwealth*.

<sup>3</sup> *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* XII (1923), 293-428; reprinted in 1924.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 105-32; cf. Miss Sargent, pp. 9-43 (in the reprint of 1924).

*History*,<sup>1</sup> excellent as it is in point of scholarship and bibliographical guidance, is hard fare for most American students. Its scope is too ambitious. In five hundred and twenty pages it attempts to cover not merely the political history of Greece but the evolution of all sides of Greek life — Greek literature, Greek thought, and Greek art — from their prehistoric beginnings to the Roman conquest, with the result that compression is inevitable. Older volumes, like that of Oman, which confine their attention almost exclusively to the political story, are more readable; but considerable new knowledge has accumulated since they were written, and they usually close with the career of Alexander the Great. They suffer also from a further defect from the American point of view: they unconsciously presuppose more acquaintance with the classics than the average American student possesses. A decline in classical interest has been manifest also in England in the last quarter of a century, with the result that scholars have taken to writing books on Greek subjects for people unacquainted with Greek. Excellent examples, which may be commended to American secondary teachers, are James' *Hellenic Heritage* and the various works edited by R. W. Livingstone, notably his *Pageant of Greece*, an ingeniously constructed introduction to Greek literature.

The work before us belongs in the same category. It is frankly a book for beginners. The structure is on the whole conservative. Prehistoric Greece to the Dorian invasion is dismissed in one chapter of sixteen pages, and the narrative really ends with the death of Alexander, though the characteristics of the Hellenistic Age are described in a concluding chapter. In an introductory book this proportioning is probably wise. It is much more important for the beginning student to know the Age of Pericles and the Age of Demosthenes than to delve into the intricacies of

<sup>1</sup> The bibliographical data for the works mentioned in this paragraph are: G. W. Botsford, *Hellenic History*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1922); Charles C. Oman, *History of Greece from the Earliest Times to the Death of Alexander the Great*: London, Longmans, Green and Co. (1900); Henry R. James, *Our Hellenic Heritage*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1924); and Richard W. Livingstone, *The Pageant of Greece*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1923).

prehistoric archaeology, and the political history of the Hellenistic Age is deadly. The style is excellent. The narrative flows in a lively fashion, and the salient features of Greek life are well sketched. In place of a bibliography the writer gives an elaborate topical outline of Greek history, a mistake in the view of the present reviewer, for he has yet to see the teacher who is willing to use another man's outline. The illustrations are excellent, though the author has not fully learned the modern technique of making each picture enforce a point. The sketch maps, on the other hand, are very telling; but one could wish that the map of the physical features of Greece on p. xii were not so *very* sketchy. The scholarship is competent, though of course in a book of this character one must expect problems which a scholar recognizes as very much open questions settled in a dogmatic phrase or left entirely unindicated.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

DONALD MCFAYDEN

OLIFFE LEGH RICHMOND, *Sexti Properti Quae Supersunt Opera Edidit Novoque Apparatu Critico Instruxit*: Cambridge, University Press (1928). Pp. vii+431.

This sumptuous volume represents the painstaking labor of not less than a quarter of a century, and therefore deserves serious consideration. Richmond acknowledges a debt of inspiration to various well-known English classical scholars, particularly Housman. Housman is a genuine poet himself and has long been engaged in suggesting improvements in the poetry of Propertius as we have it in the accepted texts. His tutelage has produced a notable result in the work of this disciple, who had originally the instincts of a conservative but has come in the end to out-Herod the radicals in the dangerous realm of Propertian criticism. Yet Richmond almost disarms criticism by the modest way in which he regards his achievement and apparently has misgivings at times with regard to some of his conclusions, as may be inferred from such examples as, "The 'uncial' was perhaps in its own time the only MS of Propertius in existence"; "It is sometimes most difficult to determine whether C



(or the immediate exemplar of  $c^1$  and  $c^2$ ) was carefully worked over by a specially skilled emendator, or itself preserved variants from another ancient source"; "After long and patient experiment with a stanza scheme the writer dares to hope that his hands have forged a new and precious key to the reconstitution of this poet's text" (pp. 21, 4, and 7).

Nevertheless the transformation of our text of Propertius here set forth seems to the present critic to be based on a set of highly improbable hypotheses, and the conclusion to be of very doubtful value. Richmond started with two major assumptions. The first is that there was an archetype C, of unknown date, written in uncials (or perhaps, as he now thinks, in rustic capitals), the ancestor of certain extant fifteenth-century MSS; that it had sixteen lines on a page (thirty-two on a leaf), and some of the leaves were loose and in certain cases displaced; that this supposititious MS was of equal (or perhaps superior) value to N and the other recognized MSS; and that the elegies and verses in our Propertius vulgate may well be rearranged extensively after the supposed pattern of this unknown MS. The second important assumption is that Propertius composed his elegies in stanzas.

In the application of these principles to the reconstruction of the text of Propertius various more or less arbitrary conclusions are employed, e. g. the acceptance (p. 47) of the expression *tres libelli* at II, 13, 25 as "explicit that a third book is in composition"; that the internal evidence in Book II is "conclusive that it contains poems from two different books" (p. 47); that I, 1 implies in vs. 7 that "it was written a whole year after the poet met Cynthia" (p. 48); and that there is sufficient evidence to warrant separation of the elegies under the title *Cynthia*, the other elegies to follow in Books I, II, III, and IV (pp. 7 and 47-49). Richmond also accepts as an established fact the acute surmise of earlier critics that Horace had Propertius in mind in several familiar passages.

Besides these and other assumptions, the editor of this text all too often treads on most unsafe ground in details of textual criticism. So, e. g., he supposes (p. 18) "a generally accepted

lacuna after III, 18, 8"; but neither Lachmann, nor Haupt-Vahlen, nor Hertzberg, nor Rothstein, nor Enk, nor even Phillimore, recognizes any such lacuna! Again we are told (p. 19) that II, 14, 29-32 "cannot possibly belong to a poem of triumph," and that II, 10, 7f do not fit "the still youthful poet of the vulgate 'second book'" (p. 20). At II, 12, 6 Richmond substitutes for the *volare* of all known MSS his own conjecture, *vacare*, thus entirely spoiling the picture that Propertius is describing. At I, 18, 17, he forsakes the *colore* of all the best MSS for the emendation *calore*, thus throwing a monkey wrench into Propertius' argument. The arbitrary reconstruction of I, 7, 16, *quod nulli nostros est violasse deos*, seems only to shed darkness on a difficult verse. But it is unnecessary to multiply examples.

The results obtained by proceeding from the foregoing premises by these methods are naturally somewhat startling. Richmond's text begins with a *Cynthia Book* and continues with four more books numbered I-IV. Supposed lacunae abound. So for example *Cynthia* 2, 25-40; 4, 15-18; and 24 (22 in the vulgate), 11-26 are marked as lacking; and after the last mentioned lacuna six verses torn from the midst of their long abiding place (IV, 1, 61-66) are added to complete this last poem of the *Cynthia*.

Richmond's Book I contains twenty-seven elegies, with so many transpositions and lacunae that the numbering of the vulgate is added on the right-hand side of the pages for identification, and also in Appendix B the traditional text is printed with the editor's arrangement indicated on the right. There are major lacunae assumed in elegies 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27, in some cases comprising whole elegies. This wreck of Book II the editor undertakes to explain on pp. 42-46 by attempting to trace "fragments of the uncial in 'Book II' of the vulgate." These number twenty-four, lettered A-Z. The arguments for the arrangement of these exhibit much acumen.

The rest of the Propertius text is treated in similar fashion. Richmond also discusses (pp. 75-81) and views favorably the suggestion of Nemethy [that the *Panegyricus Messallae* was an

early work of Propertius]. Furthermore, he attributes *Catalepton* ix to Propertius and prints it here arranged in twelve stanzas of varying length. The whole of the Propertius text appears in stanza form, the length of the stanzas ranging from two verses to ten. The Critical Apparatus is ample and is reinforced by special notes in Appendix A. There is a useful Index.

The arrangement of the elegies in stanzas is clever. But the present writer has no more enthusiasm for the stanza theory than for the application of the Terpandrian *Nomos* to Tibullus; cf. *Proceedings American Philological Association* xxvi (1895), v-viii. With regard to the major proposition in this edition, he is unable to believe it likely that a Propertius text so radically different from the vulgate can have left so few traces of itself during all the centuries, only to be discovered in the year of grace 1928; nor is he able to see in our accepted text the need of such heroic surgery.

KARL P. HARRINGTON

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MILMAN PARRY, *L'Épithète Traditionnelle dans Homère* and *Les Formules et la Métrique d'Homère*: Paris, Société d'Éditions "Les Belles Lettres" (1928). Pp. viii+242, and 66.

In 1923 Meillet published the summary statement that "the Homeric poems are made up of nothing but formulae, handed down by the bards." In the first of the two brochures before us Dr. Parry tests Meillet's assertion by a masterly study of a characteristic type of formula, the noun (chiefly the proper noun) with its epithet. A comparison of Homer's use of the epithet with that of Apollonius Rhodius and Vergil shows that Homer uses epithets far more frequently and — what is more important — that he has simplified their use by almost invariably employing only one epithet of any given metrical value with all nouns in the same category which are metrically equivalent. This situation leads to the conclusion that there is a fundamental difference between Homeric style and the style of all later poets. Homer, i.e. the poet or poets who composed the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, has

no style that can be called his own; he composes in the manner which a long succession of bards had made traditional, and in the traditional formula he uses the epithet solely for the purpose of fitting the name into the verse.

The epithet, according to Dr. Parry, was at first particular and specific, describing a characteristic of some particular hero. But after it had been used again and again in this way it became fixed and purely ornamental, and then it could be used generically of any hero. Its use was now determined only by the help which it gave in properly placing a name in the verse. It follows that Homer's audience must have become dulled to the meaning of the epithet. Hence we moderns must not look for the same poetic quality in the Homeric epithet that we find in the epithets of all later poets. It is even open to question whether the Homeric epithet should be literally translated, since, both in Homer's mind and in that of his listeners, it had faded into nothing more than a general ornament of epic style. Dr. Parry does not, of course, exclude the specific meaning of epithets entirely from the Homeric poems, but he confines it within rather narrow limits. He maintains that, with the exception of adjectives whose meaning precludes an ornamental use, if metrical convenience or the influence of association or analogy can be made to account for the use of an epithet, the latter is not specific or particular.

This brief summary by no means does justice to Dr. Parry's careful argument; the reader must follow it for himself before judging its conclusiveness. To the reviewer Dr. Parry seems to have limited a little too strictly the influence of metrical convenience, to have insisted upon it a little too rigidly, and to have gone too far in his inferences from it. In the first place, he regards the epithet which is separated from its noun by the end of the verse as invariably particular, because the noun has already been fitted into the verse, and there is consequently no metrical necessity for the use of the epithet. The reviewer's own study of the "runover" adjective led him to a different conclusion (*Transactions of the American Philological Association* LVII [1926], 134), e.g., about the use of *χάλκεον* (*Iliad* xxii, 286); it seems

altogether possible that Homer's style, whether traditional or not, may have prescribed that for the sake of variety a new sentence should begin immediately after the metrical unit filled by the "runover" adjective (*op. cit.* 147).

The rigidity of Dr. Parry's conclusion consists in the fact that it affects *every* epithet which yields to the test of metrical convenience. For example, ἱερὸν is one of the "certainly generic" epithets applied to a city (p. 126). Hence in *Odyssey* I, 2 (Τροίης ἱερὸν πολίεθρον) it is generic, but in ἱερὰν νᾶσον (Pind., *Pyth.* IV, 10 f) it is specific (p. 209). Now all will admit that in Pindar's ode "sacred" is particularly applicable to Thera, but it also seems admirably and specifically appropriate to Ilios, whose walls Apollo and Poseidon built. Furthermore, if ἱπποῦριν calls up an image in the mind of the poet when it stands in the verse following κυνέην (p. 208), why may not other epithets do the same, though used in a traditional manner?

The far-reaching conclusion which Dr. Parry draws from his study of the epithet is that if we possessed the whole of pre-Homeric poetry we should doubtless find that Homer's style is not individual, but the traditional style of countless bards who preceded him, and that in the use of language little or nothing was left to his own invention. The reviewer believes that a different conclusion may be drawn from the evidence which Dr. Parry has so carefully and so skillfully presented. Granted that the epic tradition dictated a wide use of formulae, it does not necessarily follow that great poets did not originate formulae of their own. The traditional manner would lead them to use their own formulae in exactly the same way in which Dr. Parry shows that the "name-epithet" formula is used in Homer. Facility in verse-making and relief from strain on the listener's attention would be gained by the frequent repetition of the poet's own formulae almost equally as well as if inherited formulae were used.

Finally, the distinction between the traditional style of Homeric poetry and the individual style of all later poets does not seem to be quite so sharp as Dr. Parry makes it. The force of tradition is felt in Greek lyric poetry, too: "The lyric poets . . .

had at their command a complete equipment of conventional expressions and ornamental 'patches,' so that at will they could vary and expand the simplest idea *still more easily than could the rhapsodes.*"<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Parry expresses the fear (104) that his conclusions will please neither the Unitarian nor the Higher Critic — the former, because they make the genius of Homer depend on his thought and not on his language; the latter, because they prove the unsoundness of a basic principle of Homeric analysis: "To discover the number of poets whose work is found in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* one must seek elsewhere than in their style" (240). However this may be, all serious students of Homer will welcome his present contributions, which include an article in the last volume of the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, and will wish him a wide extension of his investigations in this fertile field.

In the second brochure Dr. Parry argues convincingly that "illicit" hiatus and the lengthening of a short vowel before a single consonant are due to conventions of the traditional style: the rigid metrical rules of later poetry had not yet been formulated, and the common use of the formula and the extension of its influence to other phrases and word-complexes prevailed over the demands of the meter.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Die Griechische Literatur des Altertums*<sup>3</sup>: Leipzig, Teubner (1912), 48 (italics are mine).



## Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### Chats on Vergilian Books, Continued

Any reader of Vergil who happens to be fairly well read in the English poets cannot fail to notice how deeply they are indebted to him for their poetic model, material, and inspiration. They might well say with Dante:

Art thou that Vergil then, the mighty spring  
Who form'st of language that majestic stream?  
O light and glory of the race who sing!  
Let it avail me that with love extreme,  
And zeal unwearied, I have searched thy book;  
Thou my choice author art and master, thou.

Very early in the *Aeneid* we begin to see the source of familiar passages from the English poets. Thus in I, 11, *tantaene animis caelestibus irae?* we find the undoubted suggestion for Falconer's "Can such sensations heavenly bosoms move?" (*Shipwreck*); Pope's "And in soft bosoms dwells such mighty rage?" (*Rape of the Lock*); and Milton's "In heavenly spirits could such perverseness dwell?" (*Paradise Lost*). And so on throughout the poem we recognize the fountain head of numberless passages in the English, some of these fairly direct quotation, others quite clearly, and still others faintly reminiscent.

The present writer was the first to feature the influence of the *Aeneid* on English poetry in a school textbook edition (1892), and later (1900) to show how these same poets found in Ovid a thesaurus of Greek mythology for their use. This feature has

now become familiar in textbook editions of Vergil as well as of other authors. Also the subject of Vergilian influence on English poetry has become popular among both Latin and English research workers, who have found fruitful material both in the debt of English literature as a whole to Vergil and in the debt of the individual poet to him. Books, also, have sprung from the ever enlarging interest in this theme. It was Ovid more than Vergil who influenced Shakespeare, obviously the result of the dramatist's liberal use of mythology. Root has admirably developed this subject in his *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare*: New York, Henry Holt and Company (1903); and Osgood has done the same service for Milton in his *The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*: New York, Henry Holt and Company (1900).

But the best and fullest study on this subject is to be found in Elizabeth Nitchie's *Vergil and the English Poets*: New York, Columbia University Press (1919), a scholarly and at the same time very readable book, presenting a thoughtful resumé of English literature as it developed under the influence of the classics and in particular of Vergil, and packed with a mass of valuable information which it would take much searching elsewhere to find. For instance, here we are given the complete roll of the English translators of Vergil, chronologically presented, with a grand total of 146 versions in whole or in part, with adequate discussions of these. We find also full material on burlesques or travesties of Vergil which appeared from time to time; also dramatizations of scenes from Vergil, especially the Aeneas-Dido episode. We are surprised to learn that "the tragic story of Dido had been dramatized as early as the days of the Roman emperors and had furnished the theme of Renaissance plays on the continent both in Latin and in the vernaculars. The sixteenth century in England saw the production of four versions of her passion and death." The latest of these was published and produced by Marlowe and Nash in 1594.

These are only samples of the stores of information which the book affords, while the following suggestive chapter headings will give you some glimpses of the literary treatment of the material:

"The Mediaeval Tradition"; "Chaucer, his Contemporaries and Imitators"; "Vergil and Humanism"; "Spenser and the English Renaissance"; "Milton and the Classical Epic"; "Dryden and Pope"; "Thomson and the Didactic Poets"; "Landor and the Romanticists"; and "Tennyson and the Victorians." The total impression of this book is that while certain other Latin poets, notably Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Juvenal, Martial, and later the Greek poets, have had wide influence on English poetry, nevertheless, from Chaucer on, it was Vergil who was the guide in style and composition, in pastoral, georgic, and epic; Vergil, the inspirer, Vergil, the source of endless imitations, from whole passages and lines down to faint echoes.

FRANK J. MILLER

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#### Requisition Suggestions

Teachers are often asked at this time of the year to submit lists of books which they wish to have ordered for the next year. The following books would be exceedingly valuable additions to any school library or to the personal library of any teacher of the classics.

Mason D. Gray, *The Teaching of Latin*: New York, D. Appleton and Co. \$2. A book of this type with its numerous and helpful suggestions on methods, including all phases of the work from Objectives to Testing and from English-Latin Word Study to Collateral Reading, is indispensable to the teacher of Latin who wishes to be progressive. This, the most recent book on the Teaching of Latin, was written by the late Mason D. Gray, one of the special investigators of the American Classical League. So it is a work of unusual interest to classical teachers.

Sir William Smith, *A Smaller Classical Dictionary* (Everyman's Library): New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. \$0.80. This little book is a somewhat condensed version of Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, completely revised and edited by E. H. Blakeney and characterized as "a short and concise companion to the classics." In addition to the dictionary proper, which is invaluable, the following supplementary sections in particular deserve to be men-

tioned: "Monumentum Ancyranum," "Chief Latin Writers," "Some Dates in Roman History," "A Note on Classical Architecture," etc.

Henry Seidel Canby, William Dodge Lewis, and Thomas Kite Brown, Jr., *The Winston Simplified Dictionary*, Advanced Edition: Philadelphia, John C. Winston Co., \$2.64 and \$2.88 (indexed) editions. This book marks a distinct forward step in the art of dictionary-making. Some of the features which will appeal particularly to high-school and college students and teachers are the accuracy of the definitions, the careful work in etymology, the legibility of the type, the convenience of size, and the general attractiveness of appearance. Features of special interest are the Concise Outline of the Development of the English Language, the Atlas of the World (in sixteen colored maps), the numerous illustrations, and the thoroughly modern and useful appendices, including material on such topics as "Alphabets of Ancient and Modern Languages," "Calendars," "Typography," and "Proof-reading."

#### **A Suggestion for Teachers of Caesar**

In the *National Geographic Magazine* for August, 1929, an illustrated article on "St. Malo, Ancient City of Corsairs" is of interest to illustrate Caesar's description of the cities of the Veneti in *De Bello Gallico* III, 12.

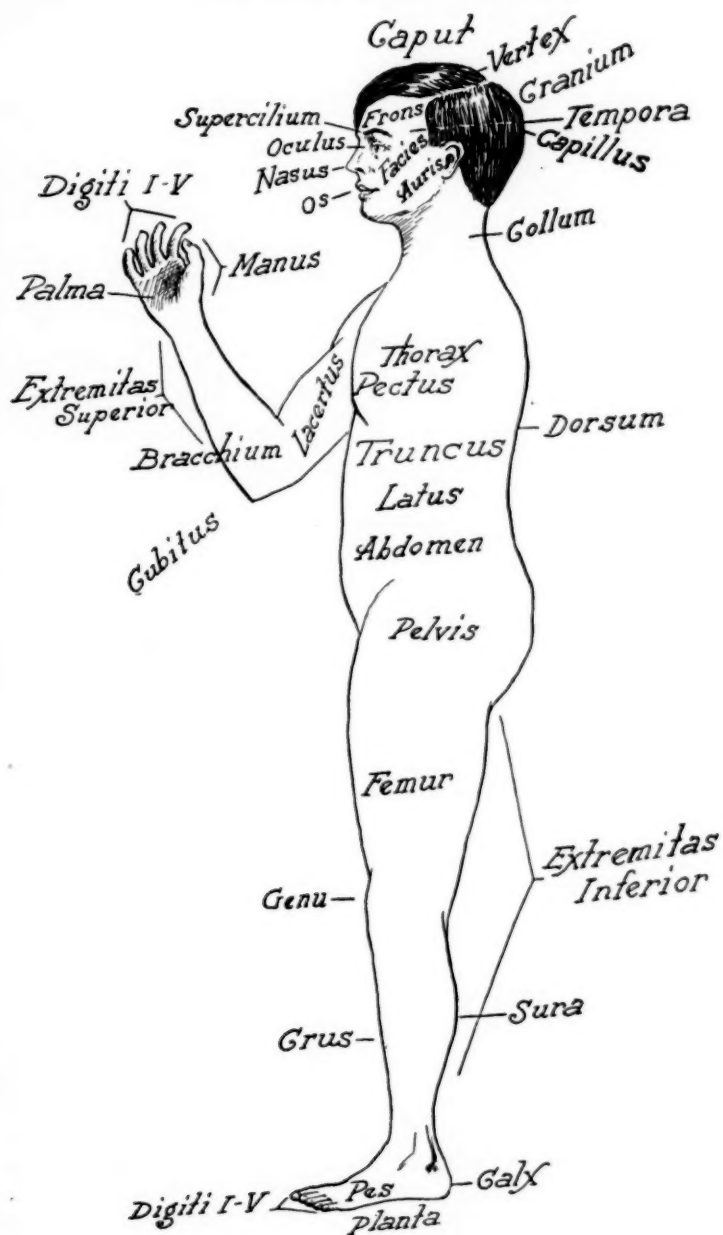
IRENE NYE

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE FOR WOMEN  
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#### **An Anatomical Poster**

The present emphasis on graphic representation makes Miss Binder's contribution one of unusual interest. The suggestion is especially helpful since it gives not only the Latin words for various parts of the human body but also the proper location of each. A large poster of this type placed upon the bulletin board will help to create an interest in word study and will provide a basis for a bit of correlation between Latin and Anatomy.

# *GORPUS HUMANUM*



The Human Body — *Corpus Humanum*

	English	Latin	Derivative
I.	Head	<i>Caput</i>	Capital
	A. Cranium	<i>Cranium</i>	Cranial
	1. Crown	<i>Vertex</i>	Vertex
	2. Forehead	<i>Frons</i>	Front
	3. Temples	<i>Tempora</i>	
	4. Ear	<i>Auris</i>	Auricle
	B. Hair	<i>Capillus</i>	Capillary
	C. Face	<i>Facies</i>	Facial
	1. Eye	<i>Oculus</i>	Oculist
	2. Eyebrow	<i>Supercilium</i>	Supercilious
	3. Nose	<i>Nasus</i>	Nasal
	4. Mouth	<i>Os</i>	Oral
II.	Neck	<i>Collum</i>	Collar
III.	Trunk	<i>Truncus</i>	Truncate
	A. Chest	<i>Thorax</i>	Thorax
	B. Abdomen	<i>Abdomen</i>	Abdomen
	C. Pelvis	<i>Pelvis</i>	Pelvis
	D. Breast	<i>Pectus</i>	Pectoral
	E. Back	<i>Dorsum</i>	Dorsal
	F. Side	<i>Latus</i>	Lateral
IV.	Upper extremity	<i>Extremitas superior</i>	Superior extremity
	A. Arm	<i>Bracchium</i>	
	1. Upper arm	<i>Lacertus</i>	
	2. Elbow	<i>Cubitus</i>	Cubit
	B. Hand	<i>Manus</i>	Manual
	1. Palm	<i>Palma</i>	Palmistry
	2. Five fingers	<i>Digiti I-V</i>	Digit
V.	Lower extremity	<i>Extremitas inferior</i>	Inferior extremity
	A. Thigh (upper portion of leg)	<i>Femur</i>	
	B. Leg (below the knee)	<i>Crus</i>	
	C. Foot	<i>Pes</i>	Pedal
	D. Knee	<i>Genu</i>	Genuflexion
	E. Calf	<i>Sura</i>	
	F. Heel	<i>Calx</i>	Recalcitrant
	G. Sole	<i>Planta</i>	Plantar
	H. Five toes	<i>Digiti I-V</i>	Digit

ELIZABETH BINDER

IOWA CITY, IA.



**Latin Conversation for the Classroom****1. Greetings and various courtesies**

<i>Salvē! (salvēte!)</i>	How do you do!
<i>Salvus sīs!</i>	Good-day!
<i>Grātiās ago.</i>	Thank you.
<i>Ignōsce! (ignōscite!)</i>	Pardon me.
<i>Licetne mihi. . . ?</i>	May I. . . ?
<i>Valē! (valēte!)</i>	Good-bye!
<i>O faustum fēlicemque diem!</i>	Happy day!

**2. Classroom activities**

<i>Stilōs sūmite!</i>	Take up your pens!
<i>Stilōs dēmittite!</i>	Put down your pens!
<i>Incipite!</i>	Begin!
<i>Pergite!</i>	Go on, proceed!
<i>Sistite!</i>	Stop!
<i>Hoc agite!</i>	Attend to this!
<i>Animōs attendite!</i>	Give attention!
<i>Recitāte!</i>	Read out loud!
<i>Legite!</i>	Read silently!
<i>Notāte bene!</i>	Mark well!
<i>Distribuite!</i>	Give out (books, pens, etc.)!
<i>Pēsum.</i>	Homework.
<i>Sermō.</i>	Lesson (in Direct Method class).
<i>Versus.</i>	Line of poetry.
<i>Colloquium.</i>	Conversation, dialogue.

**3. Questions and answers**

<i>Quid sibi vult?</i>	What does it (he, she) mean?
<i>In memoriā nōn habeo.</i>	I don't remember.
<i>Quō modō scīs?</i>	How do you know?
<i>Quid agis?</i>	How are you?
<i>Apud mē nōn sum.</i>	I'm not quite myself.
<i>Quid ais?</i>	What's that you say?
<i>Nōn ita est.</i>	That is not so.
<i>Sic est!</i>	That's so!

<i>Est vērī simile.</i>	It seems so.
<i>Bonāne fidē?</i>	Really and truly?
<i>Intellegisne?</i>	Do you understand?
<i>Scīsne?</i>	Do you know?
<i>Hoc vidē!</i>	See here!
<i>Probē!</i>	Good! Fine!
<i>Quis abest?</i>	Who is absent?
<i>Omnēsne adsumus?</i>	Are we all here?
<i>Maximē.</i>	Surely.
<i>Minimē.</i>	No, indeed! By no means.

## 4. Proverbial expressions

<i>Rem acū tetigistī.</i>	You have hit the nail on the head.
<i>Hūmānum est errāre.</i>	To err is human.
<i>Possunt quia posse videntur.</i>	They can because they think they can.
<i>Tacent. Satis laudant!</i>	They say nothing, and therefore that is praise enough.
<i>Fortūna favet fortibus.</i>	Fortune favors the brave.
<i>Mēns sāna in corpore sānō.</i>	A sound mind in a healthy body.
<i>Quis custōdiet ipsōs custōdēs?</i>	Who shall guard the guards themselves?
<i>Nōn omnia possumus omnēs.</i>	We cannot all do everything.
<i>Omne pūctum tulit quī miscuit ūtile dulcī.</i>	He carries off all votes who mingles the useful with the agreeable.

DOROTHY ENGLISH

CHELTENHAM SECONDARY SCHOOL  
LONDON, ENGLAND

## Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, O., for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, e.g., appears on October fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

### University of California at Berkeley

The Sather Lectures on Classical Literature were delivered during the second semester of the current year by Tenney Frank of Johns Hopkins University. The general topic for the series was "Life and Letters of the Roman Republic."

### University of Chicago

Upon the retirement of Albert A. Michelson, the well-known physicist, at the conclusion of the present academic year, the Distinguished Service Professorship which he held will be conferred upon Carl Darling Buck, head of the department of Comparative Philology. Professor Buck has been at the University since its founding in 1892.

### Centenary of Greek Independence

The American Hellenic Committee for the Centenary of Greek Independence at 512 Fifth Avenue, New York City, has prepared an interesting leaflet which calls attention to this important anniversary and offers suggestions for its observance. The Greek people raised the standard of revolt on March 25, 1821, and a small part of the Hellenic homeland was internationally recognized as an independent state by the London Protocol of February 3, 1830. Schools or societies which celebrate the

anniversary any time during 1930 are asked to communicate with the secretary of the Committee, Mr. Charilaos Lagoudakis at the address given above.

#### **Huntington, West Virginia**

The Vergil class of Huntington High School, W. Va., has planned to publish a Latin annual, called "The Vergilian," in honor of the bimillennial celebration of the birth of Vergil. It is to be similar to a high-school yearbook with the life of Vergil as the theme. The class, which has done much research work on the *Aeneid* and the life of Vergil, is working under the supervision of W. S. Donat, their Latin instructor, and Violet Maynard, the editor. The book was due to appear about March 1.

#### **University of Iowa**

The program of the twelfth annual Classical Conference was carried out substantially as already printed in the JOURNAL except for a few changes on account of Mr. Flickinger's illness. There were 169 persons registered from eight states and scattered as widely as St. Louis, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago, and Indiana Harbor, Ind. It was announced that statistics which had recently been taken showed that in 68 high schools of Iowa there were 4584 students taking Latin in September, 1929, as compared with 4277 in the same schools in September, 1928, an increase of seven per cent. The thirteenth Classical Conference, which would ordinarily be held in February, 1931, will be merged with the annual sessions of the American Philological Association, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the College Art Association, which will be held in Iowa City December 29-31, 1930.

#### **Los Angeles, California**

The annual Christmas luncheon of the Southern Section was held on Thursday, December 19, with an attendance of over one hundred and twenty-five guests. The speaker for the occasion was Alfred L. Benshi-mol, principal of the Belmont High School, Los Angeles, who gave a stimulating address on the "Classics and English Poetry." Another outstanding feature of the luncheon program was a "Forecast of the Vergil Pageant" given by its authors, Agnes E. Peterson, principal of the Muir Junior High School, and William C. Hartshorn of the Music Department, Beverly Hills High School, who have written the pageant expressly for presentation by the Los Angeles City Schools.

On January 13, 1930, the Latin teachers of the Los Angeles junior and senior high schools met at Belmont High School to hear brief reports on the work of the various committees recently appointed to further the curriculum development in the classical languages. A series of talks was given on "Course of Study," "Articulation between Junior and Senior High School," "International Relations," and "Reference Books." In

the matter of articulation the need for regional conferences was stressed; since each district presents its own problems, great benefit would be derived from conference of teachers in junior high schools with teachers of the senior high schools to which their students are sent. The uses to which Latin might be put in furthering friendly international relations were enthusiastically enumerated and upheld.

#### **Milwaukee, Wisconsin**

The Latin section of the Wisconsin Teachers Association under the chairmanship of Lena B. Tomson of Milwaukee-Downer College had a profitable meeting in Milwaukee November 7, 1929. Papers were read as follows: "*Aliquid Cotidie Addiscentem*," by Arthur H. Weston, Lawrence College; and "Art, Magic, and Method in Virgil's Poetry," by Paul Shorey, the University of Chicago. Officers were elected for 1930, president, Theresa M. Kleinheinz, Oshkosh High School; vice-president, Kathryn Bennett, Manitowoc High School; and secretary-treasurer, H. Gudwin Johnson, Washington High School, Milwaukee.

#### **Northfield, Minnesota**

A. M. Rovelstad of St. Olaf College, formerly of Luther College, has been elected head of the classical department at the University of North Dakota, assuming his duties in September.

#### **Oklahoma City**

On February 7, 1930, the Latin Section of the State Teachers' Association of Oklahoma held a most successful and satisfactory meeting at Oklahoma City. The program centered about the Vergil bimillennium. The items of the program were as follows: Tennyson's Ode to Vergil, read by Edith Graham, Oklahoma City; "The New Latin Course of Study," Mabel Wells of Shawnee High School; and a vocal solo, "Vergil," sung by Dale Vliet of Oklahoma City. The guest of honor was Frank Justus Miller, at present with the University of Missouri, whose address was entitled "Why Do We Celebrate Vergil?" Dr. Miller's *Dido, the Phoenician Queen*, which has been familiar to teachers of Vergil for many years, was also presented under the direction of Mary Bell Hubbard and Fern Hoover in collaboration with Jessie D. Newby. Officers elected for the ensuing year were: Mary R. Bell of Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha, chairman; and Jessie D. Newby of the Classen High School, Oklahoma City, secretary.

#### **University of Wisconsin**

Sophocles' *Antigone* was presented by the Experimental College Players of the University of Wisconsin on February 28 and March 1, 1930. The translation, which has also been published by the Players, was a metrical one by Maurice Neufeld, a sophomore in the College.

## Recent Books<sup>1</sup>

Compiled by HARRY M. HUBBELL, Yale University

- AGARD, WALTER R., *The Greek Tradition in Sculpture* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 7): Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1930). Pp. 59. \$3.00.
- BATES, WILLIAM NICKERSON, *Euripides, a Student of Human Nature*: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press (1930). Pp. 328. \$5.00.
- BERRY, LILLIAN GAY, AND LEE, JOSEPHINE L., *Latin — Second Year*: New York, Silver, Burdett and Co. (1930). Pp. xvii+434+83. \$1.80.
- BROOKE, DOROTHY, *Private Letters, Pagan and Christian*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1930). Pp. 207. \$3.50.
- BURY, R. G., *Plato, Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles*, Vol. VII, with an English Translation (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1929). Pp. 636. \$2.50.
- CAPLAN, HARRY, *Gianfrancesco Pico Della Mirandola, On the Imagination*, the Latin Text with an Introduction, an English Translation, and Notes (Cornell Studies in English, Vol. XVI): New Haven, Yale University Press (1930). Pp. ix+102. \$1.
- FOSTER, B. O., *Livy*, Vol. V, with an English Translation (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1929). Pp. xx+420. \$2.50.
- FORSTER, E. S., AND ROLFE, J. C., *Lucius Annaeus Florus, Epitome of Roman History; Cornelius Nepos*, with English Translations (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1929). Pp. xv+744. \$2.50.
- LEVENS, R. G. C., *A Book of Latin Letters*: London, Methuen and Co. (1930). Pp. xxii+174. 5s.
- MARSHALL, F. S., *Three Cretan Plays*, translated from the Greek with an Introduction by John Mavrogordato: New York, Oxford University Press (1929). Pp. viii+338. \$7.
- MOZLEY, J. H., *Ovid, The Art of Love and Other Poems*, with an English Translation (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1929). Pp. xiv+382. \$2.50.
- NEUFELD, MAURICE, *The Antigone of Sophocles*, Translation with a Foreword by Alexander Meiklejohn: Madison, Wis., Experimental College Players (1930). Pp. vii+41.

<sup>1</sup> Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL in Iowa City.